





SAN FRANCISCO
PUBLIC LIBRARY

HISTORY DEPARTMENT

REFERENCE BOOK

Not to be taken from the Library

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND,
FROM
THE ACCESSION
OF
KING GEORGE THE THIRD,
TO THE
CONCLUSION OF PEACE
IN THE YEAR
ONE THOUSAND SEVEN HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-THREE.

By JOHN ADOLPHUS, ESQ. F. S. A.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES,
IN THE STRAND.

1817.

THE
HISTORY

OF
ENGLAND

THE REIGN
OF
KING GEORGE THE THIRD

TO THE
CONCLUSION OF PEACE

*942.07

Ad 72 1

79304

BY JOHN ADOLPHUS, ESQ. F.R.S.

THE FOURTH EDITION.

AS REVISED BY THE AUTHOR.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR E. CADDILL AND W. DAVIES,

IN THE STRAND.

Printed by A. Strahan,
New-Street-Square, London.

PREFACE

TO

THE FIRST EDITION.

WHEN I undertook the Work which is now submitted to the Public, I did not overlook the difficulties of the execution, nor over-rate my own powers.

I fully appreciated the delicacy of detailing the annals of a living Sovereign, and of descanting on the conduct and motives of men who yet survive, or who have been recently removed from the busy scene. I was aware that bitter calumny or fulsome adulation had disfigured most of their characters; and that the real image of persons, as well as the true colour of events, could with difficulty be discerned through the noxious mist or splendid vapour. I knew that other writers had executed the same task, and had even extended their labours to a nearer, and consequently more interesting period than that which it was my intention for the present to occupy; and as my manner of estimating characters, and considering events differed materially from theirs, I did not disguise from myself the reasons for apprehending, that my Work would be exposed to some disadvantages from the effects of prepossession.

History has been termed, by a just and well known definition, Philosophy, instructing by examples; but the nature of the doctrine will always be considerably influenced by the temper, views, and prejudices of the historian: and that writer must be

highly culpable, who, before he undertakes the task of directing the opinions of mankind on the most important subjects, omits examining with diligence and candour the feelings, limits, and bias of his own mind, estimating his means of information, and earnestly seeking to discover, with a view of mitigating, their effects, the predilections, antipathies, hopes, and fears by which he is actuated. If these are suffered to operate in discolouring the narrative, which ought to be given with the utmost candour, the Author is guilty of a fraud in announcing his work as a *History*; it is, at the utmost, but an Historical Essay, in which the Writer assuming the part of a disputant, bends facts, characters, and circumstances to his own views; falsifies, suppresses, or perverts them, to suit his purposes; and instead of informing, seeks only to persuade, seduce, or corrupt the reader.

Works written in this manner, and published under the denomination of History, are filled with redundant and indiscriminate praise of some individuals; while others are loaded with malevolent and unsparing abuse. To justify these extremes, Authors imagine, for the personages of their narratives, a consistent uniformity of intention and conduct, which truth never has been able to pourtray; nor a careful inspector of human life to discern. That men should be stedfastly patriotic, and, in their pursuit of the public good, always temperate, just and self-denying, is very desirable; but the historian feels, with regret, the necessity of recording the aberrations of the most elevated minds; and that work must be a romance, not a history, which fails to shew that individuals, whose general views have been directed to the benefit of their country, have been, in occasional acts, rash, vain, factious, arbitrary, or absurd. Such are the materials presented by the course of events, that a party writer, taking the bright or the clouded parts of characters, receiving with avidity the vehement assertions of panegyrists or

detractors, and suppressing the facts or observations on the other side, may, for the moment, make almost any impression, without foregoing the appearance of candour; but truth will, in time, forcibly appeal against such misrepresentations; and the gloss of exaggerated applause, and the blots of unmerited censure being removed, her interesting features will be contemplated with a regard heightened in consequence of the temporary concealment.

It may be doubted, whether the period is yet arrived, when the conspicuous persons of the present reign can be so impartially reviewed. The heat of party contest has rendered the public so familiar with calumniatory declamation, that the historian incurs some risk in venturing to dismiss from his vocabulary certain abusive phrases, or in presuming to doubt of certain supposed political facts so gravely advanced, and so forcibly urged by the wise and the eloquent. He exposes himself to a still greater hazard in attempting to rescue from long accredited imputations, characters, whom the enmity of faction, and the greedy credulity of the public, have consecrated to obloquy; and in venturing to shew, that in many instances unblushing calumny has been mistaken for sober truth, faction for patriotism, and selfishness for public spirit.

Such has often been the nature of my task; in the execution of which, it has been my endeavour to avoid a too common error; I have not, in order to illustrate the principles and conduct of one man whom I thought injured, retaliated on his opponents. I have been slow in imputing to individuals those base designs against either Liberty or Government, which have been so profusely assigned to them. I have generally found in the state of party connexions, and the legitimate objects of honourable ambition, sufficient means of accounting for the actions of men either possessed of or struggling for power, without feigning as a cause of their conduct,

an excess of mental depravity or political turpitude, which is characteristic neither of the nation, nor the times on which I have treated.

I will not affect to conceal, that a regard for the constitution of my country, both in Church and State, ever present to my mind, has diffused itself through my Work. I have treated that constitution not as a project, but as an establishment, entitled to veneration from every observer, and to support from all those whom birth or accident has made partakers of its blessings. I have not therefore lent my approbation to crude reforms, or to the conduct of individuals, who, for purposes of ambition, have endeavoured to unsettle that which was fixed, and more than once succeeded in exciting the public mind to a dangerous ferment of disaffection. But in that attachment to the constitution, I have not, I trust, betrayed an indecent violence against those whom I considered its assailants; I have endeavoured to assign to them and to their opponents, indeed to every man, whether exalted or obscure, illustrious from merit, or degraded by crime, his real motives and true course of conduct.

I have never been able, nor has the course of my reading given me the inclination to coincide with those authors or orators who are pleased to inveigh, with almost indiscriminate severity, against the foreign and domestic government of Great Britain. These highly seasoned invectives may be gratifying to some readers; and to them the more plain, tranquil narrative of undisguised fact may seem insipid: but reputation derived from such sources has never been the object of my desire; I confine myself with strict forbearance to the paths where I expect to find certain truth, and do not, in order to be thought courageous, attack where I am sure not to be encountered, nor calumniate those who by station, circumstances, time, or death, are rendered undesirous or incapable of resentment. Far from envying the applauses obtained

by those disciples of Thersites, who claim the merit of wit and courage by rancorous abuse on the sovereign, government, and constitution of the country; I can without hesitation declare my opinion, that in the period on which I have written, the throne has been filled by a monarch who has sought the love of his subjects through the means of public spirit and private virtue; and who has tempered a noble desire to preserve from degradation the authority he inherits, with a firm and just regard to the constitution and liberties which conducted him to the throne, and which will ever form its best supports. Far from thinking that the aims of successive administrations have been directed to overthrow the liberties and constitution of the country, I am persuaded that liberty has been better understood, and more effectually and practically promoted during this period, than in any which preceded; and that the affairs of government have been always honestly, though sometimes imprudently, and in the conspicuous instance of the American war, unsuccessfully administered.

But whatever credit may be given, or whatever censure directed, to the motives or intention of an historian, the information he imparts will contribute more than any other cause, to the permanent establishment of his character. Opinions vary, fade, are forgotten; applause and blame are transferred from public characters, according to the mutability of general opinion; but the narrative of fact will ever claim attention; and the historian, who has bestowed the greatest portion of diligence and judgment on this part of his subject, will be most permanently esteemed. In the honest hope of this approbation, I have exerted every faculty of my mind; adverted to every attainable source of intelligence within my knowledge, and omitted no labour of inquiry or comparison, to furnish a performance satisfactory to the reader and creditable to myself.

For the general mass and outlines of events, I have explored with diligence the diurnal, monthly, and annual stores of information ; repositories in which, if there is much to reject and condemn, there are also copious, useful, and certain details, important records of sentiments, transactions, and publications, and a large stock of indispensable information, though not in itself sufficient to form the materials of history.

In aid of these, I have referred to an ample collection of pamphlets, narratives, historical and political tracts, which the freedom of the press has copiously afforded in gratification of the public curiosity.

In testimony of the authenticity of my narrative, I have been scrupulously exact in citing my authorities, generally at the page, but at least at the chapter or section of the works referred to. In this I consulted my own reputation, not for extensive reading, but for veracity of narration ; for, had an ostentation of labour been my object, I could easily have swelled into tediousness the catalogue of works I have been obliged to peruse, without deriving from them any fact sufficiently important for commemoration.

The principal exceptions to the rule of precise citation are the common facts which are well known and undisputed : and which are preserved in all the periodical compilations.

An apology may perhaps appear necessary for the length at which some of the parliamentary debates are recited ; but those who consider the great efforts employed in the senate, during the whole of this reign, and the effects of parliamentary eloquence in guiding the public mind, will not think the narrative of these discussions too minute. No part of my task has been more laborious, more difficult, or delicate, than that of selecting the most forcible reasons urged on each side, and impartially giving to both their utmost interest. In performing this part of my

undertaking, I have found much previous misrepresentation to correct; many arguments, given as unanswered, ably refuted; many assertions and speculations attributed to particular speakers, unrecorded, uttered by others, or accompanied by qualifying additions, which totally varied the sense from that which is impressed on the public. In general I have preferred the historical mode; recapitulating the chief arguments on each side in a mass; but from this practice, the reader will find occasional deviations; first, where any member has, from peculiar circumstances, or a celebrated display of eloquence, rendered himself eminently conspicuous; secondly, where the nature of the question has been such as to render the sentiments of each speaker, and his mode of enforcing them, worthy of specific notice. The debates on those measures against the town of Boston, which occasioned the American war, are the most prominent examples of the latter mode of detail. For these discussions, I have been obliged to rely on the collection of debates published by Almon and Debrett; a work which is in many instances tinged with party prejudice, and in some, disfigured by negligence, but which is nevertheless the only permanent and regular record of those interesting exertions which have given a character to the foreign and domestic acts of the nation, and which the historian is indispensably obliged to relate. The votes, journals, and reports of parliament, have formed a valuable addition, and frequently furnished the means of correcting the mistakes of the parliamentary register.

In narrating the progress of the American war, I have relied in great part on Stedman's history of that contest; though not so implicitly as to omit consulting other printed authorities, which the reader will see referred to in every chapter. But I have been enabled to obtain documents on this subject which were never before thrown open to the historian, and pri-

vate information from persons of the first talent and character, who possessed the most ample means of imparting intelligence.

Many hitherto unnoticed narratives of transactions in Ireland are preserved in periodical compilations; of these I have diligently availed myself, but have derived much more important information from valuable unpublished documents with which I have been favoured.

On the affairs of India, I have diligently consulted and placed my chief reliance on the reports published by parliament. The events of Mr. Hastings's government are omitted in the present Work, as I considered their more natural and proper situation to be in the interval between the peace of 1783, and the period when new regulations were adopted for the government of the Asiatic territories. These transactions will engage my early attention, when I proceed in continuation of my present Work.

I have on many occasions referred to private information, and epistolary documents. On this head, I am peculiarly obliged to Henry Penruddock Wyndham, Esquire, Member of Parliament for the county of Wilts, for his liberal communication of the Melcombe Papers, which afforded much new and interesting information on the character and conduct of Lord Bute, and from which I have been enabled to insert some valuable letters in the Appendix. I am also proud to express my grateful acknowledgements to the Reverend William Coxe, for giving me unlimited access to his valuable and extensive collection of state papers and historical documents. Nothing could be more gratifying to my ambition, or more honourable to my character, than a distinct recapitulation of the other persons to whom I am obliged on these subjects; but their delicacy forbids the public homage of my gratitude, and I should shew myself unworthy of confidence, if I suffered hints or descriptions to escape me which

would lead from conjecture to certainty, and indirectly baffle the wishes of those who in this instance have a right to command. I have, however, in a short appendix to each volume, given a few papers extracted from the principal correspondence to which I have had recourse, not as containing the whole body of that evidence in support of the facts advanced, but as a test of my veracity, and as an object of reference through which, by consulting with living witnesses, the reality of my authorities, and my fidelity in reciting them, may be fully established.

The length of this preface will shew, that which I have no desire to conceal, my solicitude for the favourable reception of this Work. I do not court the aid of party to rescue it from censure; for it is so composed, that I know not to what party I should apply; but I depend with confidence, though not without anxiety, on the candid judgment of all parties; resting my principal hope on a consciousness of my own good intentions, and on a recollection of the pains I have taken to procure accurate and copious information, and to relate with proper temper the progress of political contests, unprecedented both in their nature and effects.

PREFACE

TO

THE SECOND EDITION.

THE Author offers this new Edition of the HISTORY of ENGLAND, with the warmest sentiments of gratitude for the reception it has met with from the Public. He has not been negligent in revising the style, but has found no occasion to vary any fact, or retract any sentiment he had originally advanced.

Warren Street,
16th April, 1805.

PREFACE

TO

THE THIRD EDITION.

THE continued approbation of the Public, which has rendered a Third Edition of this Work necessary, demands from the Author a renewed assurance of his gratitude, and affords him occasion to express the sensibility with which he feels this flattering testimony of the utility of his labours. This edition varies only in a few unimportant particulars from those which preceded. The style has been diligently revised, and some slight additional circumstances have been derived from publications which have lately appeared, or which had escaped the attention of the Author when the former Editions went to the Press.

Temple,
17th April 1810.

PREFACE

TO

THE FOURTH EDITION.

THE Author cannot permit this new Edition of his History to go forth from the Press, unaccompanied with the expression of his gratitude to the Public, for the continuance of their favourable opinion of his labours. The warmth with which he felt that kindness when he first became sensible of its influence, fifteen years ago, is not in the slightest degree diminished ; but, as the progress of time, and a sober survey of human affairs has diminished the power of self-delusion, and repressed the confidence of sanguine expectation, patronage so general and so spontaneous as that which has been bestowed on this Publication, acquires a high additional value, and is treasured up as a just source of rational pride, and tranquil exultation.

Temple,
1st May, 1817.

CONTENTS

OF

THE FIRST VOLUME.

CHAP. I. 1760—1761.

THE King's accession, page 1. — Retrospect of his education and connexions, *ib.* — Brief account of the principal persons composing the ministry, 5. — First transactions on the death of George II., 9. — The King's address to the council, 10. — The Duke of York and Lord Bute privy councillors, 11. — The King's friendship for Lord Bute, *ib.* — Character of that nobleman, 12. — New system of government planned, 13. — Popularity of the King, 14. — Meeting of parliament, *ib.* — The King's speech, *ib.* — Addresses, 17. — Civil list, *ib.* — Supplies, *ib.* — Commissions of the judges made permanent, *ib.* — and their salaries increased, 18. — Speaker Onslow retires with a pension and honours, *ib.* — Dissolution of parliament, *ib.* — The King's desire of peace, *ib.* — Causes of the popularity of the war, 19. — Arguments against it, *ib.* — Mr. Pitt zealous in prosecuting the war, 22. — Changes in the ministry, 23. — Lord Bute secretary of state, *ib.*

CHAP. II. 1761.

State of the belligerent powers, page 25. — Congress proposed, 27. — Progress of the campaign, *ib.* — Capture of Schweidnitz by the Austrians, 28. — Battle of Fillingshausen, *ib.* — Capture of Belleisle, *ib.* — and of Dominica, 29. — Reduction of the Cherokees, *ib.* — War in India, *ib.* — Capture of Mihie, 30. — Invasion of Bengal by the Shah Zaddah, *ib.* — Exploits of D'Estaing, *ib.* — Tranquillity of Great Britain, *ib.* — The King's marriage, 31. — Coronation, *ib.* — Negotiations for peace with France, *ib.* — Terms proposed by the French, 32. — They introduce the discussion of Spanish affairs, 34. — Spirited conduct of Mr. Pitt, 35. — Answer to the French propositions, *ib.* — Family compact signed, 37. — Mr. Pitt's instructions to Lord Bristol, ambassador at Madrid, *ib.* — Lord Bristol's explanation with the Spanish secretary

of state, 37. — Mr. Pitt proposes to declare war against Spain, 39. — He and Lord Temple determine to resign, ib. — Mr. Pitt's resignation, 43. — Lord Bute considered at the head of the administration, 45. — Meeting of parliament, 46. — The Queen's dowry settled, 47. — Recess, 48.

CHAP. III. 1761—1762.

Progress of the negotiation with Spain, page 49. — Disposition of the British cabinet, ib. — Lord Bristol makes repeated enquiries respecting the family compact, but without effect, 50. — quits Spain, 56. — Memorial of De Fuentis, ib. — Declaration of war, 57. — France and Spain attempt to engage Portugal in their cause, 58. — but, failing, declare war against that kingdom, 59.

CHAP. IV. 1762.

Proceedings in parliament, page 61. — Motion for papers, ib. — Assistance granted to Portugal, 63. — Prorogation, 64. — Disunion in the cabinet, ib. — The Duke of Newcastle resigns, 65. — Lord Bute's ministry, 66. — He discontinues the Prussian subsidy, ib. — Death of Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, ib. — Peace between Russia and Prussia, ib. — Report of Lord Bute's clandestine negotiations with Russia and Austria, examined and refuted, ib. — Revolution in Russia, 72. — Disposition of Catharine II., 73. — The King of Prussia takes Schweidnitz, ib. — Cassel taken, ib. — Expedition against Martinico, ib. — Capture of Grenada and its dependencies, 75. — The French take the town of St. John's Newfoundland, ib. — which is recaptured, ib. — War in Portugal, ib. — Rapid success of the Spaniards, ib. — Arrival of the British troops, 76. — General Burgoyne takes Valencia, 77. — Beats up the enemy's quarters at Velha, ib. — Retreat of the Spaniards, 78. — Expedition against the Havannah, ib. — Progress and success of the siege, 79. — Expedition against the Philippine Isles, 81. — Manilla taken, 82. — Capture of the Santissima Trinidad, and of the Hermione, ib. — Unsuccessful expedition against Buenos Ayres, ib.

CHAP. V. 1762—1763.

Birth of the Prince of Wales, page 84. — Address from the city of London, ib. — Negotiations for peace, 85. — State of the public mind, 86. — Honours conferred on Lord Bute, ib. — Changes in the ministry, ib. — Proceedings in the city of London, 87. — Beckford made lord mayor, 88. — Progress of the treaty for peace, 89. — Preliminaries signed, ib. — Examination of the terms, 90. — Ob-

jections and observations, 90. — Discussion of the preliminaries in parliament, 98. — Definitive treaty signed, 100. — General pacification, *ib.*

CHAP. VI. 1763.

Formation of opposition, page 102. — Proceedings in parliament 103. — Cyder tax, *ib.* — Petitions of the city of London, 104. — and other places, *ib.* — Relief granted to the Americans, 106. — Resignation of Lord Bute, *ib.* — his character, 111. — Virulence of political publications, 113. — The North Briton, 114. — General warrants issued, *ib.* — Wilkes arrested and committed to the Tower, 115. — proceedings thereon, *ib.* — he is discharged, 117. — and deprived of his commission, *ib.* — Lord Temple dismissed, *ib.* — Wilkes's intemperate proceedings, 118. — Death of Lord Egremont, *ib.* — Negotiation with Mr. Pitt, 119. — Duke of Bedford's ministry, 121. — Wilkes publishes sundry libels, *ib.* — and goes to France, 122.

CHAP. VII. 1763—1764.

Meeting of parliament, page 123. — Proceedings respecting Wilkes, *ib.* — Riot on burning the North Briton, 127. — Further proceedings in parliament, 128. — Actions tried against the messenger, *ib.* — Wilkes goes to France, 130. — Marriage of the Princess Augusta, *ib.* — Wilkes expelled the House of Commons, *ib.* — Debates on privilege and on general warrants, 131. — Wilkes's trial and outlawry, 133. — Supplies, 134. — Resolutions for taxing America, *ib.* — Prorogation of parliament, *ib.* — View of American affairs, *ib.* — Government of Canada, 140. — Intrigues of the French in Canada, *ib.* — Indian war, 141. — Regulations for preventing smuggling, 142. — Conduct of the New England provinces, 145. — Dr. Franklin sent to England as agent, 146. — his character, *ib.*

CHAP. VIII. 1765.

State of Ireland, page 148. — Retrospective view of its constitution and government, *ib.* — State of parties at the King's accession, 155. — Disputes in the cabinet, *ib.* — Conduct of Lord Halifax, the lord lieutenant, 156. — Outrages of the lower class of people, 157. — The Earl of Northumberland lord lieutenant, *ib.* — Debates on the pension list, 158. — State of foreign powers, 159. — The French seize and restore Tortuga, 160. — Spain commits irregularities, *ib.* — but makes satisfaction, *ib.* — Affairs of Poland and Russia, *ib.* — Meeting of the British parliament, 163. — Taxation of Ame-

rica, 164. — *Debates on general warrants*, 165. — *on informations ex officio*, 166. — *The Isle of Man annexed to the realm*, ib. — *Regency act*, 167. — *Insurrection of silk-weavers*, 168. — *Negotiations for a change of ministry*, 169. — *Meeting of the ministry in Downing-street, and terms proposed to them by the King*, 170. — *Rockingham administration formed*, 171. — *Death of the Duke of Cumberland*, 172. — *and of Prince Frederick*, ib.

CHAP. IX. 1765—1766.

Examination of the motives for opposing the stamp act, page 173. — *Formation of parties in America*, 174. — *Exertions of the Presbyterians*, ib. — *Discontents on the arrival of the stamp act*, 177. — *Proceedings in Virginia*, 1778. — *and in New England*, 180. — *Preparations for holding a congress*, ib. — *Combination against the use of stamps*, ib. — *Riots at Boston*, 181. — *Meeting, proceedings, and dissolution of congress*, 182. — *The delivery of stamps prevented*, 184. — *Proceedings of the ministry*, 185. — *Meeting and recess of parliament*, 186. — *Consultation of the ministry*, ib. — *Proceedings in parliament*, 187. — *Debate on the address*, 188. — *Measures for repealing the stamp act*, 198. — *Evidence before the House*, 199. — *Debates on the declaratory and repealing acts*, 200. — *Act of indemnity*, 201. — *Cyder-tax repealed*, ib. — *General warrants declared illegal*, ib. — *Other acts of the ministry*, 202. — *their feebleness*, ib. — *Duke of Grafton resigns*, 203. — *Intrigue of the Lord Chancellor Northington*, ib. — *Overtures made to Mr. Pitt*, 205. — *his quarrel with Lord Temple*, 206. — *Mr. Pitt's ministry*, 207. — *he is made a peer*, 208. — *Rockingham administration dismissed*, ib. — *Compliments paid to the Marquis of Rockingham*, ib. — *Efforts to render Lord Chatham unpopular*, ib.

CHAP. X.

Retrospective view of the affairs of India, page 210. — *Origin of territorial acquisition by the Europeans*, ib. — *Hostilities between the French and English*, 212. — *Arrangements at the peace*, 213. — *Disputes of the native princes*, 214. — *Destruction of Delhi*, 215. — *Independence of the nabobs established*, ib. — *Affairs of the Carnatic*, 216. — *and of Bengal*, ib. — *Intrigues of Jaffier Ally*, ib. — *Siege of Patna by the Shah Zaddah*, 217. — *Treachery of the young nabob, Jaffier's son*, 218. — *his misconduct and sudden death*, 221. — *Position of Mir Jaffier's affairs*, 222. — *The Shah Zaddah declared Great Mogul*, ib. — *Interview of the British council with Cossim Ally, Jaffier's son-in-law, at Calcutta*, 223. — *Expedition to Moorshedabad*, 225. — *Revolution in Bengal*, 226. — *Jaffier deposed*, 227. — *Cossim proclaimed nabob*, ib.

CHAP. XI. 1760—1763.

Affairs of India continued, page 229. — *Conduct and character of Mir Cossim*, ib. — *his efforts to destroy the Rajah Ramnarain*, 230. — *Differences in the council respecting the revolution*, 231. — *Conduct of the English to Cossim*, 232. — *his efforts to diminish their influence*, ib. — *Mr. Vansittart goes to Monghir*, 234. — *concludes an improvident treaty, the enforcement of which occasions many complaints*, ib. — *Deputation sent to Monghir, who are ill used and assassinated*, 235. — *Patna taken by the English*, 237. — *but recaptured and the factory made prisoners*, ib. — *Mir Jaffier restored*, ib. — *Successful military operations of Major Adams*, 238. — *Massacre of the British prisoners at Patna*, 240. — *capture of that city*, ib. — *Flight of Cossim*, 241.

CHAP. XII. 1764—1766.

Affairs of India continued, page 242. — *Disputes at the India House*, ib. — *Lord Clive appointed chief governor*, ib. — *Cossim received and protected by Sujah ul Dowlah, nabob of Oude*, 243. — *who makes hostile preparations against the English*, ib. — *Death of Major Adams*, 244. — *Mutinous state of the army*, ib. — *Battle of Buxar*, 245. — *Shah Allum escapes to the English camp, and enters into a treaty*, 246. — *Shah ul Dowlah solicits peace*, ib. — *which is refused*, ib. — *Surrender of Chander Geer*, 248. — *Allahabad, the capital of Oude, taken*, ib. — *Death of Mir Jaffier*, ib. — *The council declare Najim ul Dowlah his successor*, 249. — *Arrival of Lord Clive*, 250. — *Final overthrow of Sujah ul Dowlah*, 251. — *he surrenders himself to the English*, ib. — *An advantageous peace concluded*, ib. — *Efforts of Lord Clive to restore order and economy*, 254. — *Mutiny of the military suppressed by Lord Clive*, ib. — *Prosperity of the company*, 256. — *The dividends augmented*, ib.

CHAP. XIII. 1766 — 1767 — 1768.

Transactions in America, page 258. — *Effect of repealing the stamp act*, ib. — *and of the declaratory act*, 259. — *Contumacy of the colonists*, ib. — *Disasters of the West Indies*, 261. — *Scarcity of grain in England*, ib. — *Embargo laid by order of the privy council*, 262. — *Meeting of parliament*, ib. — *Indemnity bill*, ib. — *Lord Chatham's efforts to gain adherents*, 267. — *Partial change of the ministry*, 268. — *Embarrassments of Lord Chatham*, 269. — *his ill health*, ib. — *Want of union in the cabinet*, 270. — *Affairs of the East-India company discussed in parliament*, 271. — *they declare an increased dividend*, 272. — *Regulating and restraining acts passed*, ib. — *Suspension of the legislature of New York*, 273.

— *New Duties on exports to America*, 273. — *Attempts to form ministerial arrangements*, 274. — *Projects and death of Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer*, 275. — *his character*, 276. — *Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer*, 277. — *his character*, ib. — *Grafton administration*, 278. — *Meeting of parliament*, ib. — *Restriction of dividends on East India stock*, ib. — *Nullum Tempus bill rejected*, 279. — *occasion of the motion*, ib. — *Prorogation and dissolution of parliament*, 282.

CHAP. XIV. 1767—1768.

State of Europe, page 283. — *Power of the Jesuits*, ib. — *their expulsion from Spain and Naples*, 284. — *and final suppression*, 287. — *State of France*, ib. — *Seizure of Avignon*, 288. — *War in Corsica*, ib. — *the island subdued by the French*, 290. — *War between the Russians and the Turks*, 291. — *Affairs of America*, ib. — *Exertions against the new taxes*, ib. — *Disputes between the governor and legislature of Massachusetts Bay*, 292. — *Proceedings of the assembly*, ib. — *their circular letter*, 293. — *Libels on the governor*, 294. — *Prorogation of the assembly*, 295. — *their inflexibility*, 296. — *and dissolution*, ib. — *Temper of the people*, 297. — *Seizure of Hancock's sloop*, ib. — *Town meetings*, 298. — *Convention*, ib. — *Arrival of the troops*, 300. — *Tranquillity of New York*, ib. — *Affairs of Ireland*, 301. — *Brief retrospect*, ib. — *The lord lieutenant obliged to reside*, 302. — *Efforts of the people to alter the constitution of parliament*, ib. — *Lord Townshend appointed*, 303. — *An octennial bill is at length passed, and receives the royal sanction*, 304.

CHAP. XV. 1768—1769.

Retrospect of the transactions of the reign, page 305. — *Conduct and disposition of the King*, 307. — *his patronage of the fine arts*, ib. — *Parliamentary censure on the magistrates of Oxford*, 308. — *Wilkes returns to England*, ib. — *he is elected member for Middlesex*, 310. — *Meeting of parliament*, ib. — *Proceedings against Wilkes*, ib. — *he is committed to the King's Bench prison*, ib. — *rescued by the mob*, 311. — *surrenders*, ib. — *Daily riots*, ib. — *The soldiers fire on the people*, ib. — *Increasing violence of the populace*, 312. — *Sentence of the court of King's Bench on Wilkes*, 313. — *Prosecution of Mr. Gillam, the magistrate, by whose authority the military acted*, ib. — *Resignation of Lord Chatham*, ib. — *Serjeant Glynn elected for Middlesex*, 314. — *Meeting of parliament*, ib. — *Wilkes's petition*, ib. — *Various motions*, 315. — *he is brought before the House of Commons*, ib. — *his complaints declared frivolous*, ib. — *his letter to Lord Weymouth*, ib. — *who complains of a breach of privilege*, 316. —

Wilkes expelled, ib. — his character, 317. — his cause espoused by the freeholders of Middlesex, 318. — he is re-elected, ib. — declared incapable of sitting, ib. — strongly supported by the freeholders, 319. — Meeting of merchants on the opposite side, 320. — they are insulted, ib. — their progress to St. James's, ib. — Wilkes again elected, ib. — the election declared void, 321. — Colonel Luttrell opposes him, ib. — Wilkes returned, ib. — the return altered, ib. — Petitions of the freeholders, ib. — Proceedings in parliament relative to America, 322. — Debates on the conduct of the legislature of Massachusetts Bay, 323. — Debate on reviving an obsolete statute of Henry VIII. 325. — Debate on the right of taxing, 326. — Respecting Corsica, 327. — Nullum tempus Act, ib. — Arrears of the civil list discharged, 338. — Agreement with the East India Company, ib. — Prorogation, ib.

CHAP. XVI. 1776 — 1770.

Affairs of India. Conduct of Lord Clive, page 330. — State of the Company's possessions, 331. — Mode of letting lands, ib. — Reform attempted, 332. — Difficulties of the Company, 333. — Mismanagement in India, 334. — Immense exportation of bullion, 335. — Gold coined, ib. — Regulation of inland trade, 336. — Lord Clive returns to England, 337. — Account of Hyder Ally, ib. — his enmity against the English, 338. — The Nizam of the Decan declares war, ib. — but is compelled to make peace, 339. — Progress of the war with Hyder Ally till the peace, ib. — Effects of the war, 341. — Alarm in England, 342. — Depreciation of India stock, ib. — Supervisors appointed, ib. — Claims of Government, ib. — final adjustment, 343. — Perturbation of the public, ib. — Middlesex petition, 344. — London petition, ib. — Publication of Junius's Letters, ib. — his libel on the King, 346. — Beckford elected Lord Mayor, ib. — Affairs of Ireland, 347. — Augmentation of the military establishment, ib. — Money bill rejected, 348. — The lord lieutenant's protest, ib. — Sudden prorogation of the Irish parliament, 349.

CHAP. XVII. 1770.

Meeting of parliament, page 350. — King's speech, ib. — Strenuous debates on the address, 351. — Speech of Lord Camden, 359. — Address opposed in the House of Commons, 360. — but carried, 361. — Second debate, ib. — Strength of opposition, 362. — Conduct of Lord Camden, ib. — his dismissal, 363. — Mr. Yorke appointed lord chancellor, ib. — his death, ib. — and character, 364. — Great seal put in commission, ib. — Motion in the Lords for a committee on the state of the nation, ib. — Total change of ministry, 369. — Lord North's administration, ib. — State of the nation

debated in the House of Commons, 370. — in the House of Lords, 371. — Committee dissolved, 374. — Motion of the Earl of Marchmont, affirming that the House of Lords had no right to interfere in the decisions of the House of Commons, *ib.* — Altercation respecting the official conduct of Lord Camden, 375. — Lord Marchmont's motion carried, 376. — Bill for regulating the consequences of expulsion, *ib.* — Turbulence of the city of London, *ib.* — Proceedings of the common council and livery, *ib.* — their remonstrance to the King, 377. — delivered to him on the throne, 378. — his answer, *ib.* — Proceedings in parliament, 379. — Addresses of both Houses, 380. — Remonstrances of Westminster and Middlesex, *ib.* — Wilkes liberated, *ib.* — Lord Chatham's bill for reversing the decision of the House of Commons on his case, *ib.* — rejected, 382. — Lord Chatham's motion on the answer to the London remonstrance, 383. — rejected, 384. — Lord Chatham's motion for the dissolution of parliament, *ib.* — rejected, *ib.* — Mr. Dowdeswell's motion to disqualify revenue officers, *ib.* — Law for annulling the protection granted by peers to their servants, *ib.* — Mr. Grenville's bill for deciding petitions on controverted elections, 386. — Inquiry into the civil list, 387. — Petition from American merchants, 388. — Repeal of duties, except on tea, *ib.* — Motion for papers, 390. — for examination of the instructions to governors, *ib.* — Motions in the Lords, *ib.* — Prorogation, *ib.*

CHAP. XVIII. 1769–1770–1771.

View of America, page 391. — Effect of reviving the statute of Henry VIII. 392 — in Massachusetts Bay, *ib.* — Proceedings of the legislature, *ib.* — Proceedings in other provinces, 393. — Non-importation committees formed, *ib.* — Examination of the conduct of ministry, 394. — Conduct of the people of Boston towards the military, *ib.* — Riot in Boston, 395. — Town-meeting, 397. — Soldiers removed, 398. — Efforts to inspire revenge, *ib.* — Trial and acquittal of Captain Preston and his soldiers, *ib.* — General courts removed to Cambridge, 399. — Unpopularity of the non-importation agreement, *ib.* — which is renounced on the repeal of the duties, *ib.* — Remonstrance of the city of London to the King, *ib.* — Behaviour of Beckford, 400. — approved by the city, 401. — Address on the birth of a princess, *ib.* — Address of the city to Lord Chatham, 402. — Death of Beckford, *ib.* — Combination of France and Spain, 403. — Account of Falkland's Islands, 404. — Expulsion of the English colonists by the Spaniards, 410. — Exertions of ministry, 411. — Conduct of opposition, 412. — Westminster meeting, *ib.* — Debates in parliament on the aggression of Spain, 414. — Unwillingness of France to engage in war, 420. — Dismission of Choiseul, 421. — Concession of Spain and final adjustment, *ib.* — Changes in the ministry, 422. — Disagreement between the two houses of parliament, *ib.* — Arrangement with Spain approved, 424. — Trials of certain printers for pub-

lishing Junius's Letters, 425. — Discussion of Lord Mansfield's doctrine in cases of libels, 427, — he leaves a written document with the clerk of the House of Lords, 428. — Disfranchisement of the electors of New Shoreham, 430.

CHAP. XIX. 1771—1772.

Dispute between the House of Commons and the city, page 432. — Publication of debates, 433. — Colonel Onslow's complaint of a breach of privilege, ib. — Printers ordered to attend at the bar, 434. — their contumacy, ib. — orders for taking them into custody, ib. — proclamation, ib. — they are arrested and discharged, 435. — Complaints against other printers, ib. — their conduct, ib. — Conduct of the minority, 436. — The messenger arrested, ib. — carried before the Lord Mayor, ib. — and holden to bail, 437. — Proceedings in the House of Commons, ib. — Alderman Oliver and the Lord Mayor committed to the Tower, 438. — Zeal of the populace, 439. — Proceedings of the common council, ib. — Address of Wilkes, in eluding the resentment of parliament, 440. — Committee appointed, ib. — their report, 441. — Debates on the Durham Yard bill, ib. — End of the session, 442. — City petition, 443. — the King's answer, ib. — Divisions of the city party, ib. — Death of the Earl of Halifax, 444. — and consequent changes in administration, ib. — Meeting of parliament, 445. — Augmentation of the naval establishment, ib. — Petition for relief from subscription to the articles of religion, 446. — motion to bring it in rejected, 451. — Church Nullum Tempus, ib. — Doctor Nowell's sermon on King Charles's martyrdom, ib. — Debates on expunging the vote of thanks to him, 452. — Motion for abrogating the observance of the thirtieth of January, 453. — Efforts of the dissenters, ib. — Motion to repeal the test laws 455. — bill passes the Lower House, 456, — but is rejected by the Lords, ib. — Marriage of the King's brothers, ib. — The King's message to parliament, ib. — Royal marriage bill, 457. — passes the Lords, ib. — protest, ib. — passes the Commons, ib. — Close of the session, 458. — Strength of administration, ib. — Misfortunes in the Royal Family, ib. — Death of the Princess Dowager of Wales, ib. — Revolution in Denmark, 459. — Fate of the Queen of Denmark, 460.

THE
HISTORY
OF
ENGLAND.

GEORGE THE THIRD.

CHAPTER THE FIRST.

1760—1761.

The King's accession. — Retrospect of his education and connexions. — Brief account of the principal persons composing the ministry. — First transactions on the death of George II. — The King's address to the council. — The Duke of York and Lord Bute's privy councillors. — The King's friendship for Lord Bute. — Character of that nobleman. — New system of government planned. — Popularity of the King. — Meeting of Parliament. — The King's speech. — Addresses. — Civil List. — Supplies. — Commissions of the Judges made permanent, and their salaries increased. — Speaker Onslow retires with a pension and honours. — Dissolution of Parliament. — The King's desire of peace. — Causes of the popularity of the war. — Arguments against it. — Mr. Pitt zealous in prosecuting the war. — Changes in the ministry. — Lord Bute secretary of state.

GEORGE the Second was succeeded by his 1760.
grandson, the son of Frederick Prince of Wales, and of Augusta Princess of Saxe Gotha, who had recently completed his twenty-second year. The King's accession Oct. 25th.

Since the death of his father, the Heir Apparent had resided entirely with the Princess Dowager, who attended to his education with maternal solicitude. Retrospect of his education and connexions.
The party, which, during the life of Prince Fre-

C H A P.

I.

derick, had been considered as devoted to his interest, was, since his death, entirely dissolved. The Princess herself did not encourage any opposition to government; and the individuals, whom hope or affection attached to the late Prince, had retired from the field of politics, or formed new connexions.

Yet the education of a Prince, who was in time to govern a mighty kingdom, was not regarded with indifference by those whose interests might be affected by the ascendancy of rivals, or who feared that if the Princess herself obtained the influence, which, from her situation might be naturally expected, new arrangements would be made, unfavourable to their views and prejudices.

Unfortunately, George II. entertained a constant jealousy and suspicion of the Princess, which, long cherished, had grown into dislike, and made those who were desirous of retaining his favour, carefully avoid all apparent intercourse with his daughter-in-law; by which means the young Prince was wholly unacquainted with the sentiments and manners of those who formed his grandfather's court. This neglect extended even to the royal family; and the Duke of Cumberland and Princess Amelia shewed no marks of attention and respect to the heir apparent and his mother.^a

Encouraged by these circumstances, and actuated by views of ambition, Lord Harcourt, who had been appointed governor to the young Prince, and Dr. Hayter, Bishop of Norwich, who filled the post of preceptor, not only exerted their influence to detach his affections from all those who had enjoyed the favour of his deceased parent, but also by their example and discourse, imparted sentiments of disrespect toward the Princess Dowager; for which, at a subsequent period, the Prince acknowledged his error with honest contrition, and suitable apolo-

^a Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 175. 217. et passim.

gies.^b In consequence of these efforts, divisions arose among those to whom the instruction of the Heir Apparent was confided, and a representation was made to the King, that Mr. Stone, sub-governor of His Royal Highness, was an improper person to be intrusted with his education; he was stated to be a man of Jacobite principles, and accused of having more than twenty years before that time, drank the Pretender's health in public. The matter was referred by the King to the cabinet council; the charge was frivolous, and wholly unsupported; Mr. Stone was heard in his own defence, as were also Mr. Murray the solicitor-general, afterward Earl of Mansfield, and Dr. Johnson, Bishop of Gloucester, who being implicated in the supposed crime, solicited permission to vindicate their own characters. They all acquitted themselves in a manner perfectly satisfactory, and the lords unanimously represented to the King, that there was no foundation for any part of the charge.^c

1752.

Upon this decision, Lord Harcourt and the Bishop of Norwich declared their resolution to resign, unless Mr. Stone, Mr. Scott, sub-preceptor to the Prince, and Mr. Cresset, secretary to the Princess Dowager, were dismissed. The allegation against them was, that they cherished Jacobite principles, and instilled arbitrary notions into the Prince. The King received this unfounded complaint with due indifference, and accepted the proffered resignations: Lord Waldegrave was appointed governor, and the Bishop of Peterborough^d preceptor.

A most unjustifiable attempt was made to interest the public in this dispute: an anonymous letter was received by a popular preacher^e, advising him to notice in the pulpit the Prince's dangerous edu-

^b Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 29.

^c From private information, and Lord Melcombe's Diary.

^d Dr. John Thomas, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury and Winchester.

^e Dr. Newton of St. George's Hanover Square. See Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 199.

CHAP.

I.

1752.

22d March.
1753.

cation; and another was transmitted to General Hawley, purporting to be a representation or remonstrance from the Whig nobility and gentry, containing many injurious reflections on the manner in which the Prince was instructed, and on the principles of his attendants.^f The apparent motive for sending this letter was, that the General should give it to the Duke of Cumberland, and that he would lay it before the King, and make such impressions as were favourable to the views of the writers.

The accusation against the Bishop of Gloucester, Mr. Murray and Mr. Stone was subsequently discussed in the House of Lords on a motion for an address, praying His Majesty to submit to the House the whole proceeding before the privy council. The business was fully and freely investigated, as the King had granted dispensations to the members of the cabinet from the obligation of their oath as privy-councillors. The debate was long and heavy, but the House perfectly coinciding in opinion with the council, only three peers and one bishop divided with the Duke of Bedford, who made the motion.^g

The public, whom this discussion was principally intended to alarm, easily discerned that the chief object was to remove the Pelham ministry, and to separate the Prince from the person and care of his parent; but all good men were satisfied that he should continue under her direction, and that she should preserve that influence over him which nature and policy equally declared to be her due.

From the satisfaction with which the Prince received the instructions of his new preceptor, the Bishop of Peterborough, the most sanguine hopes were entertained that the royal pupil would derive much advantage from his tuition.^h To impart

^f Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 189 to 201; and see the memorial in the same work, p. 487.

^g Idem, p. 229.

^h Idem, p. 211.

knowledge of books was not the difficulty, in that particular no deficiency was complained of; but it was necessary to imbue the mind of the future sovereign with just notions of the British constitution and jurisprudence, and enable him to estimate correctly the national wealth and resources, and the means of preserving and increasing them.ⁱ It was a great object of the Princess's care to educate her son in the principles and constant practice of religion; and with this view she invited the learned and pious Dr. Stephen Hales into her family, and appointed him clerk of the closet. Her good intentions were greatly favoured by the disposition of the Prince, who was affectionate, gentle, and exempt from every appearance of vicious inclination. The dread which the Princess constantly entertained, that his morals would be contaminated by the example of the young nobility, prevented his mixing with them in familiar intercourse, and his acquaintance was almost confined to the social circle of Leicester House; which was select, cheerful, and unrestrained.^k

On attaining his majority, the Prince took his seat in the House of Peers; but there was no debate in that session.

The King found, on his accession, an able administration, strong from the combination of parties, and popular from uninterrupted success.

Characters of
the principal
ministers.

The Duke of Newcastle was the ostensible head of this ministry. A veteran in the service of government, he was considered the leader of the Whig party, and during a period of forty-three years

The Duke of
Newcastle.

ⁱ It was the intention of the Bishop of Norwich to procure, for the instruction of his royal pupil, such a treatise as would convey clear and comprehensive information on the subject of national commerce; and Dr. Tucker, the learned and celebrated Dean of Gloucester, was requested to prepare such a work; he engaged in it, but, for very judicious reasons, declined the accomplishment of his task. See preface to Tucker's Four Tracts, p. ix.

^k Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 170. 188. 255. 289.

C H A P.

I

filled a high situation at court and in the cabinet. His princely fortune and extensive influence rendered him a powerful coadjutor, and his uniform zeal in promoting the succession of the House of Brunswick endeared him to the great majority of the Whigs, as the champion of that cause. In his temper he was fretful, capricious, and jealous of those who rivalled his political ascendancy. This jealousy, which formed the leading feature of his character, was restrained by the superior talents and authority of Sir Robert Walpole, but, on his retreat, it became uncontrolled, and engendered perpetual altercations with succeeding ministers, not excepting even his own brother, Mr. Pelham. Some peculiarities in his manner, and a want of method in the transaction of business, exposed him to ridicule. He was trifling and embarrassed in conversation, always eager and in a hurry, unbounded in adulation, and profuse in promises. Yet the Duke of Newcastle possessed much greater abilities than are usually attributed to him: he had a quick comprehension, was an useful and frequent debater, spoke with great animation, wrote with uncommon facility, and was perfect master of foreign affairs. He filled the office of secretary of state from 1723, to the death of Mr. Pelham in 1754, when he became first lord of the treasury. When placed at the head of affairs, he was distracted with the multiplicity of business: weakness of councils, fluctuation of opinions, and deficiency of spirit, marked his administration. In 1744, he strengthened himself by a coalition with the Tories and the Whigs in opposition to government, and formed the administration which was ludicrously termed the *broad-bottom*. The discordant parts of this motley combination were principally cemented by the conciliating manners of Mr. Pelham; but on his death in 1754, dissensions broke out, and after many ineffectual attempts to form a permanent administration, (during which the Duke made a temporary

resignation in November 1756, and continued out of office till July 1757,) that cabinet was arranged which continued, without essential alteration, till the period at which this history commences. The Duke of Newcastle still retained the controul of domestic affairs, and the patronage of the church; but the conduct of the war, and the management of the House of Commons, were committed to Mr. Pitt.

C H A P.

I.

Mr. Pitt commenced his political career as a Whig, in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, and soon distinguished himself by the splendour and energy of his eloquence. He was an adherent of Lord Cobham; attached himself to Frederick Prince of Wales, and in 1737 was appointed groom of his bed-chamber. He continued in opposition till the formation of the broad-bottom ministry. In 1746, he was nominated vice-treasurer of Ireland, and in the same year paymaster of the forces; but the antipathy of the King, in consequence of his acrimony in censuring German measures, overcame the repeated efforts of the Duke of Newcastle to introduce him into the cabinet. At length, the irresistible superiority of his talents bore down every obstacle; in 1757 the King, sensible of the weakness of the ministry, and alarmed at the ill success of the war, reluctantly consented to appoint him secretary of state, a situation which, during the temporary retreat of the Duke of Newcastle, he had held for about four months.¹ Thus Mr. Pitt, according to the current expression of the day, "took the cabinet by storm," but from this moment Great Britain assumed a formidable position. Mr. Pitt relinquished his opposition to continental connexions; constant success attended him; his commanding eloquence, the wisdom of his plans, the vigour of his exertions, together with the strength of his

Mr. Pitt.

¹ Dec. 1756 to April 1757.

CHAPTER.

I.

administration, silenced parliamentary opposition: the people viewed him with an admiration bordering on idolatry; and George II. highly gratified at the prosecution of his favourite measures, and the unprecedented tranquillity of the kingdom, yielded, with implicit confidence, the reins of government to his direction.

Lord
Temple.

Mr. Pitt was supported in the cabinet by his brother-in-law, Lord Temple, who succeeded to the influence and estate of his uncle Lord Cobham. He was distinguished for his parliamentary abilities, and much respected and beloved by his adherents.

Lord
Granville.

Lord Granville, better known under the title of Lord Carteret, was president of the council. At an early period of life he was secretary of state, and lord lieutenant of Ireland. Being dismissed in the reign of George I. he joined the opposition against Sir Robert Walpole; and, on his resignation, was restored to the office of secretary of state, became the favourite of the King, and took the lead in the conduct of foreign affairs. After an ineffectual struggle with the Duke of Newcastle for pre-eminence, he resigned in February 1745. In 1751 he was appointed president of the council, and retained that office till his death. He was a man of great talents and literary acquirements; indefatigable in business, of commanding eloquence, and conversant in foreign affairs. To those who considered his eminent capacity, and arrogant disposition, it was a matter of surprise that he submitted to the ascendancy of the Pelhams, and accepted a situation which, though more elevated in dignity, was of inferior importance.

Mr. Fox.

Mr. Fox, paymaster of the forces, was a friend and active supporter of Sir Robert Walpole; and from his first entrance into parliament had almost uniformly promoted the measures of government.

Under Mr. Pelham, he acted in the capacity of lord of the treasury and secretary at war; he was then content to fill a subordinate department in the House of Commons, but, on the death of Mr. Pelham, thought himself entitled to manage the House, and contended with Mr. Pitt for pre-eminence. After a long series of cabals he gained a momentary ascendancy, and on the fourteenth of November 1755, was appointed secretary of state; but in November 1756 he resigned, and on the fifth of July 1757, became paymaster of the forces. Mr. Fox was of an acute and penetrating genius, and active in business. His speeches were replete with information, method, and sense, but he wanted that nervous and irresistible eloquence which characterized Mr. Pitt. His manners were conciliatory, and few men had more personal friends. ■

Several of the remaining members of administration were highly respectable for talents and integrity; amongst whom must be noticed lord keeper, afterwards lord chancellor Northington, the Duke of Devonshire, lord chamberlain, Mr. Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, Lord Anson, first lord of the admiralty, and Lord Holderness, secretary of state.

Although the advanced age of George II. rendered his decease not improbable, yet that event was entirely unexpected. He was afflicted with no disease, testified no uneasiness of mind or depression of spirits, but shewed his usual cheerfulness and alacrity: and from the great success which had attended the late measures, the blaze of constant victory, and the popularity of the ministry, perhaps there never was a monarch whose death was less desired.

1760.
First transactions on the death of George II.

The event occasioned much consternation at

^m In delineating these characters, much information has been derived from the Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, and from the personal communications of the author of that excellent work.

C H A P. I. court, and the intelligence was immediately carried to the secretaries of state. The great officers of the crown were convened, and Mr. Pitt repaired to Kew for the purpose of announcing to the new Sovereign his accession. The King, having received some intimation of the event before Mr. Pitt's arrival, was prepared for the occasion, and immediately proceeded to London.

1760.

Meanwhile a council, assembled at Saville House, was directed to attend at Carlton House, the residence of the Princess Dowager, where they met the King, and transacted business of form. The young Sovereign appeared agitated and embarrassed by the novelty of his situation, and want of acquaintance with the persons by whom he was surrounded; yet his conduct gave general satisfaction, and afforded the presage of a prudent and happy reign.

The King's
address to
the council.

His address to the council, which was published by their request, is a specimen of dignified modesty and unassuming firmness: "The loss that I and
"the nation have sustained by the death of
"the King, my grandfather, would have been
"severely felt at any time; but coming at so
"critical a juncture, and so unexpected, it is by
"many circumstances augmented, and the weight
"now falling on me much increased: I feel my
"own insufficiency to support it as I wish, but,
"animated by the tenderest affection for my native
"country, and depending upon the advice, ex-
"perience, and abilities of your lordships, on
"the support of every honest man, I enter with
"cheerfulness into this arduous situation, and shall
"make it the business of my life to promote,
"in every thing, the glory and happiness of
"these kingdoms, to preserve and strengthen the
"constitution in both church and state, and,
"as I mount the throne in the midst of an ex-
"pensive, but just and necessary war, I shall

“endeavour to prosecute it in a manner the most likely to bring on an honourable and lasting peace, in concert with my allies.”

C H A P.

I.

1760.
6th Oct.
King pro-
claimed.

27th.
The Duke
of York and
Lord Bute
privy coun-
cillors.

The King having been proclaimed in the usual form on the day after his accession, held a council at St. James's on the ensuing day, when his brother, the Duke of York, and the Earl of Bute, were sworn in as members.ⁿ The liturgy was also directed to be altered in those parts where prayers are said for the Royal Family. These circumstances in themselves would not claim any notice, but some offence was taken at the time, and it was afterward a source of frequent animadversion, that the Duke of Cumberland and the Princess Amelia who were before particularly mentioned, were now only included in the general term, *and all the Royal Family*. This change was merely a point of etiquette, and not made in consequence of the dislike which the Princess Dowager entertained against the Duke and Princess, but the popularity of the Duke of Cumberland became a medium through which much abuse, vented against the King and the Princess Dowager, was afterwards rendered agreeable to the public.^o

ⁿ The early introduction of Lord Bute to the privy council has been descanted on by many writers as a singular circumstance, but it is not in the least extraordinary: it was customary for the King to continue his household servants in the same capacities which they held under him while Prince of Wales; Lord Bute being groom of the stole to the Prince, was therefore continued by the King, and the holder of that office is always constituted a privy-councillor.

^o The words in the prayer referring to the Duke of Cumberland and Princess Amelia were “*The Duke and Princesses* :” but the rank of the Royal Family (except the Prince of Wales, who always stands next the King, as Heir Apparent) is regulated by their proximity to the Sovereign on the throne; thus the Duke of Cumberland and Princess Amelia, as children of George II., took precedence during his reign, of the youngest children of Prince Frederick: on the accession of George III. their positions were altered; the brother of the Sovereign then preceded his uncle in rank: consequently it would have been absurd to retain in the prayer the words, “*the Duke and Princesses*,” without first inserting some words equally descriptive of the King's brothers and sisters, which would have been not only unusual, but inconvenient and ridiculous on account of its length.

C H A P.

I.

1760.
Character of
Lord Bute.

The King's friendship for the Earl of Bute led to extensive and permanent consequences. John Earl of Bute was son of James second Earl of Bute, by Ann Campbell daughter of Archibald first Duke of Argyle. He received his education at Eton; and at an early period of his life was introduced to the household of Frederick Prince of Wales, to whom he was lord of the bed-chamber. On the death of the Prince he retired to the country, and took no share in political transactions, though he was often consulted by the Princess. On the establishment of the young Prince's household he was appointed groom of the stole, in which place he was continued after his accession. He had not occupied any public office; was unacquainted with the business and intrigues of state; and although he possessed an active mind, replete with elegant and abstruse learning, and was well acquainted with the theory of the British constitution^p, he was not competent to the task of instructing a young Prince in the practical science of governing a kingdom, where the component parts of the legislature are so nicely balanced, and their respective powers and operations so strictly guarded. It could not afford ground of surprize that the King, young and unacquainted with the persons of those who formed a successful and popular administration, should place among his confidential servants, a nobleman whom he had long esteemed, and who possessed the good opinion of his parent in an eminent degree: it could not be a subject of animadversion, that such a person should obtain an ample portion of the King's regard; nor would this circumstance have affected the course of political affairs, had not a new system followed his introduction into the cabinet.

^p The King derived from the conversation of Lord Bute his principal knowledge of the constitution: and Lord Bute obtained from Blackstone the most interesting parts of his commentaries on the laws of England while in MS. and laid them before the Prince for his instruction.

The last two monarchs being foreigners, and opposed by a native Prince who had numerous adherents, as well among the people as in some of the most illustrious houses, confided a large portion of their power to a few distinguished families, in order to secure possession of the crown. These families, strengthened by union and exclusive influence, became not only independent of, but, in many respects, superior to the throne. Swayed by a predilection for their continental dominions, the first two Sovereigns of the House of Hanover incurred severe animadversions from the members of opposition; and the necessity of frequent justifications rendering them still more dependent on the leaders of the ministerial party, reduced them almost to a state of pupillage.

But the new King, being exempt from foreign partialities, ascending the throne at a period when the claims of the exiled family were fallen into contempt, was enabled to emancipate himself from the restraint to which his ancestors had submitted. The Earl of Bute formed the plan of breaking the phalanx which constituted and supported the ministry, and of securing the independence of the crown, by a moderate exertion of the constitutional prerogative. This plan in itself was well conceived, and necessary; but the Earl of Bute was not a proper person to carry it into effect. He was not connected, either by blood or by familiar intercourse, with the leading families in England; he was not versed in the arts of popularity, nor used to the struggles of parliamentary opposition; and his manners were cold, reserved, and unconciliating. Prejudices were easily excited against him as a native of Scotland, and he could only oppose to a popular and triumphant administration, and a long established system, such friends as hope or interest might supply, and the personal esteem of the King, which was rendered less valuable by the odium attached to the name of favourite.

New system of government planned.

C H A P.

I.

1760.

Popularity
of the
King.

The conflicts of party did not immediately commence. The King at his accession was highly popular; his proclamations for repressing vice and immorality, gave general satisfaction; loyal and affectionate addresses poured in from every part of the realm, and all regret for the late King seemed to be buried with him.

26th Oct.
Meeting of
Parliament.

18th Nov.

The Parliament met immediately on the King's accession^a; it was to close in one more session; but the season being inconvenient for a dissolution, it was resolved to await the period of its natural extinction. After a short prorogation^r, to give time for previous arrangements, the King opened the session. It was remarked, that there never was in the memory of the oldest persons such a numerous concourse of all ranks on any similar occasion, nor such unanimous testimonies of applause. The public prepossession, increased by the King's affable and gracious demeanour, was carried to the greatest height by the patriotic sentiments contained in the speech.

The King's
Speech.

He began by expressing his regret at the death of his grandfather at so critical and difficult a conjuncture, as he was the great support of that system, by which alone the liberties of Europe, and the weight and influence of these kingdoms, could be preserved, and gave life to the measures conducive to those important ends.

After declaring his reliance on the affection of his people, and the goodness of Providence, His Majesty used these words: "BORN AND EDUCATED IN THIS COUNTRY, I GLORY IN THE NAME OF BRITON: *and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of a people, whose loyalty and warm affection to me I consider as the*

^a It met on Sunday, in pursuance of a statute of William III. the substantial parts of which are re-enacted in one of Queen Anne, requiring the Parliament to meet, convene and sit, immediately on the death of a Sovereign. See Hatsell's Precedents, vol. ii. pp. 107. 286.

^r From the 8th to the 18th November.

" greatest and most permanent security of my throne^s ; C H A P.
" and I doubt not but their steadiness in those prin- I.
" ciples will equal the firmness of my invariable }
" resolution to adhere to and strengthen this excel- 1760.
" lent constitution in church and state ; and to
" maintain the toleration inviolable. The civil and
" religious rights of my loving subjects are equally
" dear to me with the most valuable prerogatives of
" my crown, and, as the surest foundation of the
" whole, and the best means to draw down the di-
" vine favour on my reign, it is my fixed purpose
" to countenance and encourage the practice of
" true religion and virtue."

In the progress of his speech, the King descanted, with becoming satisfaction, on the prosperous efforts of the British force in Canada and India, and on the successful exertion of the allied arms in Germany ; he mentioned, in strong terms of approbation, the benefits which the national commerce had derived from the judicious disposition of the navy, and paid a just and honourable tribute of applause to the valour and intrepidity of the officers and forces both at sea and land.

Having thus completely reviewed the state of the nation, the King said, " In this condition I have
 " found things at my accession to the throne of my
 " ancestors ; happy in viewing the prosperous part
 " of it ; happier still should I have been, had I
 " found my kingdoms, whose true interest I have
 " entirely at heart, in full peace : but, since the
 " ambition, injurious encroachments, and dan-
 " gerous designs of my enemies, rendered the war
 " both just and necessary, and the generous over-

^s After the draught of this speech had been settled by the cabinet, an addition was made to it in His Majesty's own hand, which became the subject of some animadversion, and compared by many of the most zealous of the Whig party, to the concluding part of the first speech, of Queen Anne, after her accession. (See Journal's and Smollet's Continuation of Hume, vol. i. p. 447.) But at this distance of time, when the question may be more impartially considered, and distinctly from other circumstances, there does not appear any reason for imputing to the declaration of the King, that " born and educated in this country he gloried in the name of of Briton," an intention of reflecting on the memory of his grandfather.

CHAP.

I.

1760.

ture made last winter, towards a congress for the pacification has not yet produced a suitable return, I am determined, with your cheerful and powerful assistance, to prosecute this war with vigour in order to that desirable object, a safe and honourable peace. For this purpose it is absolutely incumbent upon us to be early prepared ; and I rely upon your zeal and hearty concurrence to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of my allies, and to make ample provision for carrying on the war, as the only means to bring our enemies to equitable terms of accommodation."

Then addressing himself separately to the House of Commons, the King, after lamenting the greatness of the national burthens, expressed his reliance on them to provide adequate supplies, and to make a proper provision for supporting the civil government with honour and dignity.

In conclusion, His Majesty reminded both houses that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and invoked a due regard to their own reputation, and the protection of the Protestant interest. He recommended vigour, unanimity, and dispatch, as the best means of frustrating the ambitious and destructive views of his enemies, and added, " In this expectation I am the more encouraged by a pleasing circumstance, which I look upon as one of the most auspicious omens of my reign. That happy extinction of divisions, and that union and good harmony, which continue to prevail among my subjects, afford me the most agreeable prospect. The natural disposition and wish of my heart are to cement and promote them ; and I promise myself that nothing will arise on your part, to interrupt or disturb a situation so essential to the true and lasting felicity of this great people."

The sentiments contained in this speech, were

no less acceptable to the people at large than to the members of the two houses. The King's youth, dignity of deportment, and propriety of enunciation, gave the highest satisfaction, and those who had been accustomed to the speeches from the throne in the former reign, were relieved and gratified by hearing the King's speech delivered in all the purity of English pronunciation.

C H A P.
I.
1760.

Loyal addresses were unanimously voted in both houses^s, and the commons exceeded the ordinary manifestations of attachment by presenting a second address, thanking His Majesty for the gracious manner in which he received the first.

Addresses.

The principal business transacted in this session related to the civil list, and to the supplies.^t

The civil list was fixed at eight hundred thousand pounds, the King having signified his consent, that such disposition might be made of the hereditary revenues of the crown, as should best conduce to utility and the satisfaction of the public.

Civil List,
25th Nov.

The supplies amounted to nineteen millions six hundred and sixteen thousand one hundred and nineteen pounds, to pay the interest of which several taxes were continued, and a new duty of three shillings per barrel imposed on beer and ale.

Supplies.

On granting new commissions to the judges, the tenure of their office fell under consideration. The King, anxious to insure their independence and uprightness, recommended, in a speech from

1761.
3d March.
Judges
made per-
manent.

* The following expression in the address of the Lords was peculiarly elegant and happy: "We are penetrated with the condescending and endearing manner in which Your Majesty has expressed your satisfaction in having received your birth and education among us. What a lustre does it cast upon the name of Briton, when you, Sire, are pleased to esteem it among your glories!"

^t No act of grace was proposed, but a bill was passed for the relief of insolvent debtors, in which was a permanent clause, compelling them to subscribe, on the requisition of any creditor, a schedule of their effects, and upon doing so, and giving them up, they were to be discharged. This provision was dictated by humanity, but its regulations were so much abused, that it was soon repealed.

C H A P.

I.

1761.

And their
salaries
augmented.

the throne, that provision should be made for securing the enjoyment of their offices during their good behaviour, notwithstanding the demise of the crown; and requested that he might be enabled to grant proper salaries to be absolutely secured to them during the continuance of their commissions. This wise and patriotic declaration was received with merited attention; and an act passed, fully providing for the important objects of His Majesty's recommendation.^u

18th Mar.
Speaker
Onslow
retires,

When the end of the sessions approached, Mr. Onslow, who for more than thirty years had filled the situation of speaker with unshaken integrity, signified his determination to retire: a vote of thanks was unanimously carried, and an address presented, requesting the King to confer on him some signal mark of favour. A pension of three thousand pounds was accordingly settled on Mr. Onslow, with benefit of survivorship to his son. This testimony of regard to experienced merits, and long services, was extremely agreeable to the public; and the common council of London complimented the late speaker with the freedom of the city in a gold box.

with a pen-
sion and
honours.

5th May.

The public business having been performed with the utmost unanimity, the King closed the session, and the parliament was immediately dissolved.^x

19th Mar.

21st.

The King's
desire of
peace.

Although, in the declaration to the council at his accession, and in his subsequent speeches at the meeting and prorogation of parliament, the King expressed a determination to prosecute the war, it was his first and most earnest wish to restore to his subjects the blessings of peace^y. The para-

^u Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 268.

^x No memorials are preserved of any debates in this session; the account of the proceedings is derived from the history and proceedings of Parliament published by Debrett, and from the Journals.

^y The King's speech to Parliament, Nov. 1763.

graph in the declaration to council referring to the war, was not originally expressed in such a forcible manner; but an alteration was made by Mr. Pitt, which implied a decided approbation of the German measures, instead of mentioning them, as the King intended, in terms of coldness². The King was thus induced to give up his own opinion, and renewed a subsidiary treaty with the King of Prussia, similar to those concluded by George II.²

C H A P.

I.

1761.

The energy of Mr. Pitt, the celebrity of the King of Prussia, the success of Prince Ferdinand, the increasing glories of the British arms, and the depression of the French power, contributed to render the war in the highest degree popular; yet many politicians apprehended fatal consequences from its continuance, even should success attend the allied arms.

Causes of the popularity of the war.

They blamed the project of carrying on a German, instead of a maritime, commercial, and colonial war, which was best adapted to the situation of this country, and in which we were always superior to our enemies. France, they said, could prosecute the contest in Germany for ten years, without increasing her debt five millions sterling, while we could not carry it on for the same period, without increasing our's upwards of fifty millions; and all the advantages which might be gained over France, would not compensate for such an enormous expenditure. They treated the popular enthusiasm for a German war as a dangerous delusion. The merchants, who greatly contributed to raise it, particularly in London, were interested; but the landholders suffered. The glory and advantage of sweeping the sea, cost the land four or five millions a year. They suggested, that when the merchants should lose the advantage of contracts and furnishings, they would repent of their alacrity.

Arguments against it.

² From a memorandum by Lord Melcombe.

² This treaty was signed 12th December, 1760.

C H A P.

I.

1761.

and wish they had used their interest in inducing government to desist, when the national honour was vindicated, and the national possessions secured.^b

The press, too, uttered without reserve the same sentiments. The absurdity of the manner of warfare which this country had adopted was exposed in the most striking colours. It was asserted, that France, by making Germany the seat of hostility, could ruin this country, without materially injuring herself. The quarrels of any two states of Europe, for whatever cause, were always favourable to the interested and ambitious views of France, who would espouse the weaker side with a partial exertion of strength, increasing her efforts in proportion as other countries favoured the cause which she opposed. The military force of France was alleged to be superior to that of any other power in Europe; and by her address in confining the war to Germany, England, who was her only opponent, was reduced to fight, at an immense expence, in a country where victory itself, while it weakened and dispirited the friendly natives, could never distress the French; they only retired, after defeat, to their own frontier, whither we durst not follow them, and always returned to the next campaign with a force superior to all the efforts of British gold, and German exertion. Nor were our efforts really beneficial to the Protestant interest, which, in fact, was not endangered. The defence of Hanover was alleged to be a futile pretence for carrying on the war in Germany; the French could not annex it to their dominions, without taking possession of several other electorates, which the constitution of Europe would not permit; and even if they entertained such a scheme, the way for England to oppose it was not by sending armies to Germany, but by turning to the utmost advantage her decided naval superiority; thus she might

^b These sentiments are amply detailed in Lord Melcombe's Correspondence.

obtain possession of the French West India islands, and hold them as a deposit or guaranty for the security of Hanover.

C H A P.
I.
1761.

The subsidy or tribute to the King of Prussia, was represented in a most injurious light: he received six hundred and fifty thousand pounds a year to fight his own battles, whilst England was bound to defend him without the slightest stipulation on his part. This was contrasted with the important and valuable assistance which King William had prudently secured against France, from the most considerable powers of Europe, for a less sum than was now paid to the King of Prussia alone.^c

Such were the opinions professed in private, and patronized in public, by the Earl of Bute and his adherents. The King had, from his infancy, been accustomed to hear the connexion of this country with Germany condemned and reviled by men who were considered the most enlightened and truly patriotic. He had so little attachment for his German dominions, that no doubt was entertained of his being induced to abandon the defence of them, and employ the money which had hitherto been uselessly lavished on that object, in distressing the French in other quarters, for the purpose of compelling them to make peace. A proposal so flattering to the prejudices of Englishmen, it was supposed would confer extensive and permanent popularity on those who should have the virtue to recommend, and the interest to enforce it; and some jealousy was entertained, lest the ministry, who had hitherto conducted the war, should insure their continuance of power and popularity after a peace, by first adopting the plan.^d

The King's
patriotic
disinterest-
edness.

^c Considerations on the present German war, by I. Mauduit, Esq. This production was generally read, and the author afterwards received a pension. History of the late Minority, p. 13.

^d Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 422; and the same sentiments are more fully expressed and enforced in a paper of Lord Melcombe's dated 16th January, 1761, and endorsed, "Paper read to Lord Bute."

C H A P.

I.

1761.

Mr. Pitt
zealous in
prosecuting
the war.

Mr. Pitt, however, was not disposed to become a candidate for increased popularity (if an increase of his popularity was possible) on such terms. He had concerted the war on a system suggested by the King of Prussia, improved by himself, and fully sanctioned by George II., who was supposed to be a competent judge of military matters. The success of the allied arms had hitherto silenced opposition, and excited universal admiration; and France was so enfeebled and humbled, that her further efforts were not considered objects of dread. The people, amused by the splendid exhibitions attendant on victory, and flattered by the merited encomiums bestowed on the valour and liberality of the country, disregarded the load of debt created by the war, and despised the accumulation of taxes. The capital, which by its exertions and clamours generally gives a political bias to the rest of the kingdom, was implicitly devoted to the minister, and he was so far from entertaining a notion of abandoning the continent, that the friends of that project pronounced him more mad than ever.^c

From the King's accession, the Earl of Bute became an object of jealousy, and his conduct was vigilantly scrutinized^f. As he was expected soon to obtain a place in the ministry, many efforts were made to inflame the national prejudice against the Scots, and the people were taught to believe that

▪ Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 427.

^f A subject of successful invective and permanent misrepresentation arose in the gift of the rangership of Richmond Park to Lord Bute. This office was held by the Princess Amelia; and it was boldly asserted, that the gratification of the favourite, and the mortification of the Princess, were equal motives for the change; but, in fact, the Princess held the appointment *for her life*, and therefore could not be deprived of it but by her own consent. The Princess at first proposed to make Richmond her principal residence, and the great stone lodge was directed to be prepared and enlarged for that purpose; but during the progress of the work, a decision at law was made contrary to her wishes, relative to a right of stopping the foot-way; she then became disgusted, suspended the execution of her orders, and, on receiving an ample equivalent, cheerfully resigned an appointment which no longer gratified her imagination, except as an object of emolument.

Tumultuous
disposition
of the
populace.

every unpopular act was the result of his advice. The King had not completed the fourth month of his reign, when the ungovernable and licentious spirit of the mob was displayed in a riot while he was at the play-house; the tax on beer was imputed to Lord Bute, and this was their mode of expressing disapprobation.^g

Notwithstanding these efforts, the King, on the resignation of Lord Holderness, appointed Lord Bute secretary of state^h; he also dismissed Mr. Legge from the chancellorship of the Exchequer, and gave his office to Lord Barrington. Several other removals and advancements of less importance were also made, and the Duke of Richmond, disgusted with a military promotion which he considered injurious to his brother, Lord George Lenox, resigned the post of lord of the bed-chamber.ⁱ

When Lord Bute thus assumed a responsible situation in the cabinet, he was deluded by interested individuals into a belief, that he possessed a considerable portion of the public esteem, and that the popularity of Mr. Pitt was declining. They strongly represented to him that he was bound

C H A P.

I.

1761.
2d Feb.

Lord Bute
secretary
of state.
25th March.

Changes in
the ministry.

^g The inhabitants of Hexham (9th March) evinced a more formidable disposition to tumult; on the balloting for militia-men, they assembled in such numbers, and committed such excesses, that it became necessary to employ the military; and a special commission having been afterwards issued, several of the rioters were tried, and one executed.

^h Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 416. The retreat of Lord Holderness appears to have been a preconcerted manœuvre, arranged with more art and duplicity than becomes an exalted character, to make room for Lord Bute. Lord Holderness was amply gratified by a pension and reversionary grant of the wardenship of the Cinque Ports.

ⁱ It is asserted in Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 417, that the Duke of Richmond, after speaking disrespectfully of Lord Bute and the Scotch nation, had solicited the bed-chamber. The Duke has denied these facts in a letter printed in the same work (p. 500.) The transaction, in whatever light it is viewed, reflects no disgrace either on the Duke or Lord Bute. If we refuse Lord Bute credit for magnanimity in favouring the Duke's wishes, after he had spoken disrespectfully of him and his country, it appears at least that he did not oppose them, although his Grace had declared his unwillingness to connect himself with any ministry. The Duke's resignation, in compliment to the feelings of his brother, was spirited and proper.

C H A P. by every motive, public and private, to take an
 I. active part in the government^k, and he yielded to
 1761. suggestions according with his views of weakening
 the party, which, in his judgment, maintained a
 dangerous ascendancy.

The prorogation and dissolution of parliament were delayed, to afford time for Lord Bute to make the arrangements necessary to strengthen his interest: but the influence he expected to derive from the King's confidence was engrossed by others, who had taken their measures unknown even to the King himself. He was early apprised of this, and cautioned against it, yet he took no measures to counteract those ministers who were resolved to secure parliamentary adherents by means of government interest, but entirely independent of the crown^l.

■ Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 416.; and his letters to Lord Bute, *passim*.

■ Lord Melcombe's Diary, p. 432.—In a letter to Lord Bute, dated the 26th November, 1760, Lord Melcombe, after expressing his zeal for the King's service, and anxiety to see him entirely independent, says, "It is not my wish
 " that His Majesty should interpose, directly or indirectly, where the interest
 " is in any private gentleman, as such: but during the two last reigns, a set of
 " undertakers have farmed the power of the crown at a price certain; and, under
 " colour of making themselves responsible for the whole, have taken the sole
 " direction of the royal interest and influence into their own hands, and applied it
 " to their own creatures, without consulting the crown, or leaving any room for the
 " royal nomination or direction. This should be prevented before any pretence
 " of promise can be made," &c.

CHAPTER THE SECOND.

1761.

State of the belligerent powers. — France. — Poland. — Russia. — Austria. — Congress proposed. — Progress of the campaign. — Capture of Schweidnitz by the Austrians. — Battle of Fillingshausen. — Capture of Belleisle — and of Dominica. — Reduction of the Cherokees. — War in India. — Capture of Mîhie. — Invasion of Bengal by the Shah Zaddah. — His defeat. — Exploits of d'Estaing. — Tranquillity of Great Britain. — The King's marriage. — Coronation. — Negotiations for peace with France. — Terms proposed by the French. — They introduce the discussion of Spanish affairs. — Spirited conduct of Mr. Pitt. — Answer to the French propositions. — Family compact signed. — Mr. Pitt's instructions to Lord Bristol, ambassador at Madrid. — Lord Bristol's explanations with the Spanish secretary of state. — Mr. Pitt proposes to declare war against Spain. — He and Lord Temple determine to resign. — Observations. — Mr. Pitt's resignation. — Gracious behaviour of the King. — Mr. Pitt receives a pension. — Lord Bute considered at the head of the administration. — His sentiments on Mr. Pitt's resignation. — Meeting of Parliament. — The Queen's dowry settled. — Recess.

IF peace was desirable to the English nation, it was still more necessary to the other belligerent powers, except the Empress Queen. France, in particular, felt the miseries of unsuccessful warfare, and was fallen, from its alarming power and greatness, into the lowest state of distress and impotence. Its military operations had been unfortunate in every quarter of the globe; and the merchants and planters had, for more than two years, ceased to derive any advantage from the few colonial possessions which yet remained. It was without trade, and without credit; stopping payments,

C H A P.

II.

1761.

State of
France.

C H A P.

II.

1761.

returning bills protested, and in every respect a bankrupt nation^a. To such a degree of distress were the people reduced, that the King, the princes of the blood, the nobility and clergy, were under the necessity of sending their plate to the mint, to furnish specie for immediate use. The alliance with Maria Theresa had ceased to be popular; and the nation, feeling the pressure of the war, loudly complained of a system which involved them in misery, merely to benefit the house of Austria, their ancient, hereditary enemy.

Early in this year, Louis XV. declared to his allies that France, having for four years, in conjunction with other powers, prosecuted the war in hopes of ruining the King of Prussia, but without success, was unable to sustain, for a longer period, the enormous expences of the contest. He represented, that a continuance of the war would complete the devastation of Germany; and advised the other powers to renounce their views of aggrandizement, and concur in the re-establishment of peace.

Sweden.

The same declaration was made, in terms still stronger, at Stockholm, where the French faction in the senate had been vigorously attacked by the court party.

Poland.

The King of Poland, tired of a destructive war, listened with satisfaction to intimations of peace, and hoped by negotiation to obtain some indemnity for his losses.

Russia.

Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, whom pride and the arguments of her counsellors alone induced to continue hostilities, was not averse to a pacification, as it would leave her to the enjoyment of that repose, which now constituted her greatest pleasure.

^a Letter to Two Great Men.

The Empress Queen alone appeared desirous of prolonging hostilities, by which she expected to destroy her greatest enemy; yet, in compliance with the wishes of France, she proposed a general congress, to be holden at Augsbourg.

M. De Choiseul conveyed the proposition to the British court, through the medium of Prince Galitzin, the Russian minister. The English monarch and the King of Prussia acceded without hesitation. France, at the same time, proposed to Great Britain, that ministers should be sent to their respective courts, for the purpose of negotiating a separate peace, to which, as the King of Prussia could offer no objection, the British ministry agreed.

As it was the interest of France to obtain time for recruiting her armies, and refitting her fleets, this proposal was accompanied with another for an immediate cessation of arms; but England having already incurred the expence of a new campaign, and made immense maritime preparations, was not duped by this insidious offer.

France entertained great hopes of deriving advantage from the negotiations at Augsbourg; but the meeting was prevented by a punctilious objection: the Emperor, it was said, could not send an ambassador, because war was declared against the Empress Queen, and not against the head of the empire.^b

During the winter, a few trifling skirmishes only took place between the King of Prussia and the allies, but offensive operations were now seriously resumed. Frederick II. maintained with spirit, vigour, and skill, an unequal contest against the overwhelming armies of the two empires. He was

C H A P.
II.

1761.
Austria.
Congress
proposed;
25th March.

^b Œuvres complètes de Frederic II. Roi de Prusse, vol. iii. chap. 13.
— Historical Memorial of the Negotiation, published in Paris by authority.

C H A P.

II.

1761.

9th Sept.
Capture of
Schweid-
nitz.

10th Dec.

Battle of
Fillings-
hausen.15th and
16th July.Capture of
Belleisle.

obliged to consider safety fortunate, and to maintain his political situation by address in temporizing, rather than risk every thing by a desperate effort in battle. His distress was increased by the unexpected capture of Schweidnitz, a strong city in Silesia, from which he had hitherto drawn considerable supplies. His affairs were generally unprosperous in Silesia, Pomerania, and Saxony, and he kept the field with difficulty and disadvantage, till his troops went into winter-quarters.

Prince Ferdinand, on the other hand, made a brilliant and successful campaign: at an early period he fortunately cut off some supplies, and availing himself of the inaction occasioned by this event, strengthened his own position at Kirch Denc-kern. He was however attacked by the French: the conflict was severe, and continued two days: the enemy for a time seemed victorious; they compelled part of the British troops under Lord Granby to retire, and possessed themselves of the village of Fillingshausen; but at length, by a masterly manœuvre, Prince Ferdinand and the British general turned the fortune of the day, and secured a most important victory^c. The career of success was uninterrupted till the end of the campaign, which covered both generals with glory.^d

Nor were the British arms less prosperous in other quarters. Among the most promising enterprises of the year, was a secret expedition to attack Belleisle, near the coast of Brittany. A fleet of ten ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, and

^c This battle, if we may believe Dumouriez, was lost through the precipitation of Broglio, who, in order to gain the victory by his own army alone, made the attack a day too soon, and through the criminal jealousy of Soubise, who sacrificed the glory and interest of France to the pleasure of mortifying his rival. *Life of Dumouriez*, vol. i. p. 86.

^d *Œuvres du Roi de Prusse*, vol. iii. chap. 14.

bombs, and one hundred transports, conveying nine thousand men, with a train of artillery, sailed from Spithead in three divisions, under the command of Commodore Keppel. The troops, led by Major-General Hodgson, were repulsed with loss in an attempt to land on the south-east of the island, in a sandy bay near Lomeria Point; but after some days they were more successful in another effort near the same point, in a place where the enemy, trusting to the natural impediments, had been less solicitous to form an artificial defence. Having surmounted considerable difficulties, they laid siege to Palais, the capital of the island, and compelled the governor to capitulate, after a resistance of two months, in which he lost two thousand men.

C H A P.

II.

1761.
29th Mar.

8th April.

7th June.

The news of this conquest occasioned general exultation. A loyal address was unanimously voted by the city of London: and great expectations were formed, that the capture of Belleisle would enable ministers to obtain the most favourable terms of peace, but the demolition of the works seems to have been the principal object of the enterprise, and that was effectually accomplished. The French, afterwards, made an attempt to burn the British fleet in Basque Road, near Aix: the project was well conceived, but failed through the precipitation and unskilfulness of those to whom it was intrusted.

17th June.

Address of
the city of
London.

17th Dec.

In the West Indies, Dominica was taken by Lord Rollo; and the Cherokee Indians having taken up arms at the instigation of the French, Sir James Douglas and Colonel Grant, at the head of two thousand six hundred men, ravaged their country and compelled them to sue for peace.^e

Capture of
Dominica.
6th June.
Reduction
of the Che-
rokees.

In the East Indies, the British power, which had been strengthened on the coast of Coromandel by the possession of Pondicherry^f, was still further se-

India.

^e Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs, vol. iii.

^f See Smollet's Continuation of Hume, vol. v. p. 363.

C H A P.

II.

1761.

Invasion of
Bengal by
the Shah
Zaddah ;

who is de-
feated.

Exploits of
d'Estaing.

Tranquillity
of Great
Britain.

8th July.
The King
declares his
intention to
marry.

cured on that of Malabar by the capture of Mi-
hie, which was taken by Major Hector Monro.
An adventurer, named Law, nephew of the famous
projector, having assembled a corps of French fugi-
tives, persuaded the Mogul, who in the preceding
year had been known by the title of the Shah Zad-
dah, to invade the kingdom of Bengal. The united
force consisted of eighty thousand natives, and
about two hundred French, but Major Carnac, with
twenty thousand blacks, and five hundred English
soldiers, totally routed this vast army, and captured
the Mogul and his European coadjutor.^g

D'Estaing, who, in violation of his parole, in-
fested the Indian seas with two frigates, sailing
to Sumatra, reduced Bencouli, Tappanapoli, and
Marlborough fort.

While war was thus vigorously, and with various
success, carried on in all quarters of the globe, the
people of England enjoyed, not only an absolute
tranquillity, but partook of the pleasures incident
to a new reign, and shared the festivals to which
the season gave birth.

The King, having summoned a council extra-
ordinary, declared his determination to marry the
Princess Charlotte of Mecklenberg-Strelitz, a com-
munication which was received with some surprize,
as the King's intention was a profound secret^h. His
conduct was highly prudent, for it prevented dis-
cussions which, besides their extreme indelicacy,
might, on this occasion, have been peculiarly un-
pleasant. The late King was, at one period, sup-
posed to entertain an intention of marrying him
to a Princess of Brunswick, niece to the King of
Prussia ; but the match was disagreeable to the
Princess of Walesⁱ ; and those comparisons which

^g See chapter x.

^h Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 75.

ⁱ Lord Melcombe's Diary, 354.

the public interest in the event could not fail to produce, had the King's intention been early announced, must have given great uneasiness at court.

CHAP.
II.
1761.

The proper arrangements being made, Lord Anson, first Lord of the Admiralty, conducted the Princess to England, where, after a dangerous and difficult passage, she arrived in safety. The ceremony of marriage was performed the same day, and soon afterward the coronation.^k

His marriage, 7th Aug.
8th Sept. and coronation 22d.

One of the most interesting and important transactions of this year, was the negotiation for peace between Great Britain and France. In consequence of the desire expressed by the court of Versailles, M. de Tassay was received in London, and Mr. Hans Stanley at Paris, as ministers. After some delay, the principles were fully arranged. These were, — That the conquests made on each side should be considered as the property of the conquerors, and either retained or exchanged according to their value: certain periods were also fixed, though not without great discussions, at which the effect of this stipulation was to begin: And it was agreed, that all arrangements between the two crowns should be conclusive, independent of the fate of the congress then expected to take place at Augsbourg.

Negotiations for peace.

24th and 31st Mar.

These proposals were made by the French ministers: but there is no room to believe that they were even yet sincere in the wish for peace. They entertained great hopes of inducing Spain to engage in the quarrel, and therefore ostentatiously submitted to make humiliating attempts at conciliation, judging this to be the most certain mode of alarming the court of Madrid, and inducing the Spanish minister to prevent the conclusion of peace with Great Britain, by an early avowal of hostility.

^k For a spirited account of these events, see Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 80 and 83.

C H A P.

II.

1761.

Spain had declared that France was sufficiently humbled, but must not be ruined¹; and therefore every appearance of immoderate concession could not fail of exciting great emotion.

The British ministry did not entertain sanguine hopes of a successful issue of the negotiation, since the expedition against Belleisle was undertaken after its commencement.

M. De Choiseul conducted the business with great art and address: he contrived to impress on Mr. Stanley's mind, the necessity of keeping the extent of the intended compensations an entire secret, not only from the ministers of the allies of England, but even from M. de Bussy himself^m; and, after much debate, agreed that France should make a specific proposal.

The articles delivered by the French minister were:

1. The cession and guaranty of Canada to England, under four conditions; viz. The allowance of the free exercise of the Catholic religion by the colonists: permission for French subjects to quit the colony: the correct settlement of the limits: and permission for the French to take and dry fish on the banks of Newfoundland; for the benefit of this fishery, Cape Breton was to be restored to France, but no fortifications to be erected.

2. France was to restore Minorca and Fort St. Philip; and

3. England to return Guadaloupe and Mari-galante.

4. Dominica and St. Vincent's to be in the possession of the Caribbs, under the protection of the French; St. Lucie to be restored to them, and Tobago, under certain conditions, to remain the property of England.

¹ Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 75.

^m Private letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, 28th August 1761.

5. Assuming as a principle that it would be advantageous for the two countries to abstain from all military views of conquest in India, it was proposed that the treaty between Godeheu and Saunders, in 1755, should serve as a basis for the re-establishment of peace in Asia.

6. England to retain either Senegal or Goree, but to give up one of them to France; and to restore Belleisle, with the artillery which was there at the time of the conquest.

7. In consideration of these cessions, France stipulated to evacuate Hesse, Hanau, and so much of the electorate of Hanover as was occupied by her troops.

8. That the separate peace might not be prejudicial to any treaties, or disadvantageous to the Empress Queen, the King of England was to undertake that no part of Prince Ferdinand's army should join the King of Prussia; and, on the other hand, Broglio and Soubise were to retire, the former occupying Frankfort, the latter Wesel and Gueldres.

The countries on the Lower Rhine, belonging to Prussia, being conquered, and actually governed in the name of the Empress Queen, the French King could not undertake to evacuate them till the close of the negotiations at Augsbourg; but agreed to remove double the number of troops withdrawn by England.

9. Naval captures made before the war, to be restored: this was not, however, insisted on as an essential stipulation, but to be referred to the justice of the King, and the English tribunals.

The other articles were not of much importance.

These proposals, although in some respects liberal, could not form the basis of an honourable treaty, as many claims of France were exorbitant, and presumptuous. In India, particularly, it was proposed that Great Britain should resign valuable and

Observations on them.

C H A P.

II.

1761.

extensive conquests, without an equivalent, and merely in compliance with a principle of policy, not of law or justice, dictated by an enemy. The requisition for the restitution of prizes, although recommended by some show of moderation, was, in fact, equally arrogant, as it affected to make a distinction between the French nation and individuals composing it, and concluded with a clamorous appeal to the law of nations, and an assertion that the arguments advanced on the part of France were unanswerable. The articles respecting the conquests made from the King of Prussia were no less insidious and presumptuous; if the congress of Augsburg failed of producing an immediate pacification, that monarch must, in all probability, have been crushed by the powerful combination of his enemies, an event which France knew Great Britain would not permit.

It is very doubtful if the proposals could have been so modified as to produce a good system of pacification: but perhaps, before he made them, the French minister had secured the alliance of Spain, and even planned the treaty which was afterward carried into effect, and the operations which resulted from it. This conjecture is rendered more probable by the delivery of another memorial on the affairs of Spain, in which the French King, more than equivocally, intimated the hostile disposition of the court of Madridⁿ, and required, as the means of securing a solid peace—

1. The restoration of some captures made during the war.

2. The privilege for the Spanish nation to fish on the banks of Newfoundland; and

ⁿ He says, “The King will not disguise from His Majesty (of Great Britain) that the differences of Spain with England fill him with just apprehensions, and give him room to fear that, if they are not adjusted, they will occasion a fresh war in Europe and America.”

3. The demolition of the English settlements in Honduras. C H A P. II.

Such proceedings sufficiently evinced that France was not desirous of peace : but, to aggravate the impropriety of the previous demands, a third memorial was delivered, stating the consent of the Empress Queen to a separate pacification between France and England, provided she might retain possession of the countries conquered from Prussia, and none of the auxiliaries in alliance with Hanover should join with Frederick.

Mr. Pitt resolutely declared, both in conversation and writing, that the King would not suffer the differences with Spain to be blended in the disputes then under discussion ; a further mention of them, he said, would be considered an affront to His Majesty's dignity, and incompatible with the sincerity of the negotiation, and he returned the memorials relating to Spain and Prussia, as inadmissible.

24th July.
Spirited
conduct of
Mr. Pitt.

He afterwards answered the French propositions, and insisted on terms, more consistent, perhaps, with the situation in which this country stood from the advantages of conquest, than with the pacific sentiments which were supposed to give rise to the treaty. If France had acceded to them, she surrendered all sources of wealth and political importance in America, Africa, and Asia. The demolition of Dunkirk was peremptorily demanded, as the price of liberty to fish on the banks of Newfoundland ; and that permission was rendered less valuable by a refusal to cede Cape Breton. Belleisle was offered as an equivalent for Minorca. Guadaloupe and Marigalante were to be restored ; but as the minister refused to part with Senegal or Gorée, the difficulty of obtaining negroes would have rendered the French West India islands of little value. Canada was to be retained, but the limits were not accurately defined. The question

29th July.
Answer to
the French
proposi-
tions.

CHAP. concerning conquests in India, was left to the discussion of the English and French East India Companies. The restitution of prizes was refused; and the King would continue, as an auxiliary, to assist the King of Prussia in the recovery of Silesia.

II.

1761.

Observations.

It might be easily proved that these terms were no less injudicious than immoderate. The equitable end of war is not the political annihilation of an enemy, but the termination of disputes, and the securing of an honourable and permanent peace. Neither of these objects could have been attained by this pacification; and France, however reduced in finance, could not be expected to receive such disgraceful conditions, while she had yet the means of prolonging a contest, which might produce a change in her favour, but could hardly reduce her to a more deplorable state of necessity.

The minister, therefore, did not act with his usual wisdom in giving his opponent the advantage of complaining that his haughtiness rendered the treaty impracticable; and he furnished Spain with some pretence for the conduct she resolved to adopt. The minister from that country avowed the offensive memorial delivered by M. de Bussy, and Spanish gold began to be coined on the frontier towns for the benefit of France.^o

Negotiation continued.
5th Aug.

Yet as matters were not ripe for an open rupture, the farce of negotiation was continued: an ultimatum was delivered from the court of France, replying to the propositions of England; and memorials were sent respecting the prizes; which, with the dubious conduct of Spain, necessarily occasioned some delays. M. de Choiseul amused Mr. Stanley with equivocal declarations, and even induced him to believe that the introduction of Spanish affairs was not a voluntary act, but extorted by the exigencies of his situation.^a

^o Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 82.

^a Letter from Mr. Stanley to Mr. Pitt, 20th August 1761.

At length the famous treaty, called the Family Compact, was secretly signed, and although it was not ratified, and the conditions unknown, yet Mr. Stanley received obscure intelligence on the subject, which he communicated to Mr. Pitt. The French ultimatum was peremptorily rejected; the negotiation abruptly terminated, and M. de Bussy and Mr. Stanley returned to their respective courts.^a

Indignant at the interference of France in the disputes between Great Britain and Spain, Mr. Pitt immediately dispatched to the Earl of Bristol, ambassador at Madrid, a letter, complaining, in unqualified terms, of the conduct of both those powers. "The memorial delivered by Bussy," he said, "will best speak its own enormity, and the extreme offensiveness of the matter it contains." In apprising Don Ricardo Wall, the Spanish secretary of state, of this paper, Lord Bristol was directed to remonstrate, with energy and firmness, on its irregularity, and to state, that the King would by no means add facilities for the satisfaction of Spain, in consequence of any intimation from a hostile power of union of councils, or of present or future conjunctions. At the same time, as the court of France might possibly have exaggerated, if Lord Bristol perceived a disposition in M. Wall to explain away and disavow this offensive transaction, he was instructed to open to the court of Madrid a handsome retreat.

When Lord Bristol waited on the Spanish minister for the purpose of enforcing these topics, he found M. Wall already apprised on the subject by the French ambassador. To the remonstrance, which was made with firmness and spirit, M. Wall answered, that France had voluntarily proposed to attempt the ac-

CHAP.

II.

1761.
15th Aug.
Family Compact signed.
1st Sept.
25th Sept.

Mr. Pitt's instructions to Lord Bristol.
28th July.

Lord Bristol's explanation with General Wall.

^a For the history of this negotiation have been consulted, the papers relative to the rupture with Spain, laid before the House of Commons; the historical memorial published by the court of France; together with many pamphlets, and periodical publications.

C H A P.

II.

1761.

commodation of differences, and spontaneously tendered, in the event of a rupture, the aid of her forces, to prevent the English encroachments on His Catholic Majesty's territories in America: an offer which the Spanish monarch had received with all the cordiality due to a friend, who was determined even to involve himself in a fresh war in his defence. Spain, however, had no intention to provoke Great Britain, especially at a time when the court of London was in a most flourishing and exalted situation, occasioned by a series of unparalleled prosperities. M. Wall made many general professions of pacific and amicable intentions, placed the interference of France in a point of view entirely inoffensive, and expressed surprise that Great Britain should take umbrage at the naval armaments carrying on in the ports of Spain: the whole number, including ships of the line and frigates, did not, he said, exceed twenty: which were employed in sailing between Spain and Naples; in convoying flotas and register ships; and maintaining a check on the corsairs of Barbary.

The dispatch from Lord Bristol containing this account, which forms the substance of five conferences, was accompanied with a paper delivered to him by General Wall, in which, after renewing his complaints, avowing the alliance with France, and extolling the moderation and candour of the court of Madrid, the following expressions are used: "The King of Spain will say, as the King of England does, that he will do nothing on account of the intimation of a hostile power, who threatens an union of councils, and gives to understand a future war; for the Catholic King approves of, and esteems in other monarchs, those sentiments of honour he feels himself, and if he had thought that the delivery of the memorial had been construed as a threat, he would never have consented to it. Why has not England made the trial of concluding a peace with France, without the

“ guaranty or intervention of Spain? and adjusted
 “ her differences with Spain, without the know-
 “ ledge of France? Then she would have experi-
 “ enced that their union was not an obstruction,
 “ but only tended to tranquillity. With respect
 “ to Spain, it is now repeated, that as the King of
 “ Great Britain, notwithstanding the memorial,
 “ was inclined to satisfy the Catholic King, and
 “ ready to terminate, in a friendly manner, what-
 “ ever might occasion a coolness between the two
 “ kingdoms, His Catholic Majesty esteems and
 “ corresponds with such good purposes.”^r

This letter from Lord Bristol was dated the 31st of August, and received the 11th of September. It contained nothing which could justify any hostile intention against Spain, but afforded ample room to hope for an adjustment of differences, on advantageous terms. The Spanish minister did not attempt to disguise the terror of his court at the vigour and energy of the British arms, and seemed ready to forego every claim which, consistently with the dignity of an independent nation, could be surrendered, to avoid a rupture with so formidable an adversary.

To the surprise, then, of all who were unacquainted with his motives, Mr. Pitt, in a week after the receipt of this letter, proposed in the cabinet to order Lord Bristol to withdraw from Madrid; and presented a bold and extensive plan of operations against the trade, colonies, and wealth of Spain. This proposition was delivered in writing, and signed by Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple, as advice to the King. It was debated with great warmth at three several councils, called for the express purpose; but the cabinet remaining unconvinced by the arguments adduced in favour of the plan, Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple declared their resolution to

18th Sept.
 Mr. Pitt
 proposes
 war with
 Spain.

Lord Tem-
 ple and
 Mr. Pitt
 determine
 to resign.

^r Papers relative to the rupture with Spain.

CHAP. II. 1761. resign. Mr. Pitt said, "he was called to the ministry by the voice of the people, to whom he considered himself as accountable for his conduct: and he would not remain in a situation which made him responsible for measures *he was no longer allowed to guide.*" To this intemperate and unwarrantable declaration, Lord Granville, president of the council, replied, "I can hardly regret the right honourable gentleman's determination to leave us, as he would otherwise have compelled us to leave him; but if he be resolved to assume the right of advising His Majesty, and directing the operations of the war, to what purpose are we called to this council? When he talks of being responsible to the people, he talks the language of the House of Commons, and forgets, that at this board he is only responsible to the King. However, though he may possibly have convinced himself of his infallibility, still it remains that we should be equally convinced, before we can resign our understandings to his direction, or join with him in the measure he proposes."*

Observations,

Mr. Pitt's resolution to resign has been censured, and defended, with a warmth proportioned to the magnitude of the object: for certainly the character of a great man, acquired by long and arduous exertion, cannot be considered as deficient in importance or interest; and the attempt to establish the extraordinary principle, that a minister is entitled to abandon the cabinet, because he is not allowed to guide it, requires more than common support both from fact and argument. Mr. Pitt himself declared, "that his opinion was founded on what Spain had already done, not on what that court might further intend to do";

* History of the late Minority, p. 32.

† Letter from Mr. Pitt to ———, in the city. See History of the late Minority, p. 37. Annual Register for 1761, p. 300. Gentleman's Magazine, 1761, p. 465.

this declaration must obviously allude to some intimation he had received of the execution of the Family Compact; and Lord Temple afterward avowed this to be the point on which their vindication rested^u. In fact, the Family Compact was signed and ratified before Mr. Pitt proposed the attack on Spain; and it is affirmed, that the Lord Mareschal Keith, who not long before had been in Spain, and who, at the intercession of the King of Prussia, was restored to his property in Scotland, in gratitude, communicated to Mr. Pitt this remarkable treaty; but this fact was not disclosed to the cabinet.

C H A P.
II.
1761.

15th Aug.

8th Sept.

Mr. Stanley sent to Mr. Pitt, from Paris, a letter, containing information that some treaty had been entered into between France and Spain, and, from memory, detailed what he understood to be the tenth article; but this information was so vague and indefinite, that no minister could, by the production of it, have justified a declaration of war^x. Mr. Stanley, perhaps, thought this the tenth article of the Family Compact, but, in fact, it contains no such article. This letter was laid before the cabinet, and copies permitted to be taken by the ministers and their friends; they deliberated on it, and rejected the proposal it was intended to justify. Had this letter been avowed as the only intelligence, which could warrant the

^u History of the late Minority, p. 83.

^x Mr. Stanley's letter is in these words: "I have secretly seen an article drawn up between France and Spain; in which the former engages to support the interest of the latter, equally with her own, in the negotiation of peace with England. It was intitled, Article 10th. — I am as yet a stranger to the other nine, but shall endeavour to get them. — This was on a separate piece of paper. — I read it twice over; but it was not left me long enough to copy. — I conceive it to be very recent; for it was communicated in a letter, dated August 10th, to M. de Bussy. He was directed not immediately to sign the peace, if it could be agreed with England; perhaps in order to get off from Spain more decently. I question whether this article has been signed, or totally concluded; but he was not allowed to proceed contrary to it. Spain has been pushing her negotiation ever since I came here, and had about this time gained great ground."

C H A P. commencement of hostilities, all Europe would
 II. have been alarmed; the violence of the measure
 1761. would have destroyed every principle of national
 security; and the faith of Great Britain would
 have received an indelible stain.

Nor were the advantages to be derived from such an effort so great as have been supposed. The whole marine force of Spain was inadequate to oppose the victorious and well-appointed navy of England. The colonies were open to attack, and the small portion of delay requisite to obviate the charge of precipitation and injustice could make no effectual alteration in that respect. The flota, which it was part of the project to intercept, might, at the very period the proposal was made, have been expected in port; but certainly there was every reason to believe, that before Lord Bristol could receive orders of recall, and a force be dispatched to effect the capture, the intended prize would have been secure from danger^z; even if the enterprize had succeeded, the value of the acquisition would have afforded but small compensation for the sacrifice of national honour, by an act differing very little from piracy.^a

Spain had committed no avowed act which could

^z Mr. Pitt's resignation, in consequence of his proposal not being complied with, took place the 5th October. On the 2d November Lord Bristol wrote a letter to his successor, containing this paragraph: "Two ships have lately arrived at Cadiz, with very extraordinary rich cargoes, from the West Indies; so that all the wealth that was expected from Spanish America, is now safe in Old Spain." From this it appears almost impossible, that, had the utmost celerity been used, either of these ships could have been intercepted. Indeed, their being yet to arrive could hardly be expected, since Lord Bristol, in a dispatch dated the 21st September, and received the 16th October, announced the arrival of the flota in the bay of Cadiz, and mentioned the King of Spain's disappointment at the small quantity of treasure on board.

^a The King of Prussia pays Mr. Pitt the compliment of having penetrated the intentions of Spain, like a real statesman; but Mr. Pitt possessed no information which could justify him in declaring war, and the King of Prussia was totally unacquainted with the government, parties, and politics of Great Britain. *Cœuvres du Roi de Prusse*, vol. iv. p. 60.

justify Great Britain in a declaration of war; nor was the intelligence which had been obtained of her private measures sufficient to afford a pretence for hostility. If a conjecture may be hazarded, it seems not improbable that the communication made to Mr. Stanley was a refined piece of finesse in the French ministry, who being extremely anxious to effect the rupture, and perhaps expecting that the British minister would, immediately on receiving the intelligence they had permitted to transpire, take steps which he would be utterly unable to justify, hoped to make the cause of France and Spain the common interest of Europe.

Mr. Pitt, in pursuance of his resolution, went to St. James's and resigned the seals, which the King received with ease and firmness, without requesting him to resume his office. His Majesty expressed concern at the loss of so able a minister; and to shew the favourable sense he entertained of his services, made him a gracious and unlimited offer of any rewards in the power of the crown to bestow; at the same time he avowed himself satisfied with the opinion of the majority of the council, and declared he should have found himself under the greatest difficulty had they concurred as fully in supporting as they had in rejecting the measure proposed. Mr. Pitt was sensibly touched with the grandeur and condescension of this proceeding: "I confess, Sire," he said, "I had but too much reason to expect Your Majesty's displeasure. I did not come prepared for this exceeding goodness — pardon me, Sire, it overpowers — it oppresses me." He burst into tears^b. At a subsequent period, paying a due tribute of gratitude to the generous demeanour of the King, he says,

5th Oct.
Mr. Pitt's
resignation.
The King's
behaviour.

^b Copied verbatim from the Annual Register, 1761, p. 44. See also Gentleman's Magazine, 1761, p. 546.

C H A P. II.
 1761. “ Most gracious public marks of His Majesty’s ap-
 “ probation of my services, followed my resigna-
 “ tion. They are unmerited, and unsolicited ;
 “ and I shall ever be proud to have received them
 “ from the best of sovereigns.”^c

6th.
 Mr. Pitt
 receives ■
 pension.

25th Nov.

The next day, arrangements were made for Mr. Pitt’s retreat from office. A pension of three thousand pounds a year for three lives was settled on him, and a title conferred on his lady and her issue^d. Lord Egremont was appointed his successor ; and, shortly afterward, the Duke of Bedford lord privy seal.

■ Letter to ———, in the city.

^d The following circumstance would not deserve notice, but it serves to shew how easy calumnious reports are received, and how carefully preserved and repeated, till the sources of history are entirely polluted. The account of these transactions was not published in the Gazette till the 10th of October, when it was accompanied with an article from Madrid, shewing the pacific disposition of the court of Spain. An anonymous author relates the event in these words : “ The Gazette itself was prostituted to serve his (Lord Bute’s) low and base artifices ; he purposely postponed the account of Mr. Pitt’s resignation for several days, in order that one of the soothing declarations of the court of Spain might appear along with it, by way of giving the lie to Mr. Pitt’s opinion of the Spanish intentions.” (History of the late Minority, p. 35.) The same account, though not in terms quite so harsh, is repeated in the Life of Lord Chatham, vol. 1. p. 327. The fact stands thus : Mr. Pitt waited on the King to resign on Monday, but the arrangements were not finally made till Tuesday, which being the day when the Gazette is regularly published, Mr. Pitt’s resignation and pension could not have been announced earlier than Saturday the 10th, unless it had been considered important enough to issue an extraordinary Gazette on the occasion. There was no necessity to delay the intelligence till a soothing declaration from the court of Spain should arrive, for on the very day Mr. Pitt resigned, a letter was received from Lord Bristol, which was published among the papers relative to the rupture, and amply shewed that Spain, at that period, was not disposed to assume an hostile position.

Letter from the Earl of Bristol to Mr. Secretary Pitt, dated
 Segovia, Sept. 14th, 1761 ; received October 5th.

■ SIR,

“ General Wall has acquainted me that M. Manso, governor at San-
 roque, had, in consequence of the orders transmitted to him, been at Tariffa,
 where (after examining into the conduct of the inhabitants of that place,
 and reproving those who connived at the proceedings which occasioned
 such repeated complaints from me concerning the illegal protection granted
 ■ the French row-boats, under the cannon of that port), he had taken

Mr. Pitt might, perhaps, feel some disappointment, when he found that his example was not followed by several of his colleagues; but notwithstanding the great weight he derived from his unbounded popularity, he had few personal adherents in the cabinet. The Duke of Newcastle, in particular, had always been jealous of his ascendancy, and saw with envy the success of those measures, in which, though he held a distinguished place in administration, he was considered merely as an inferior coadjutor^e. Their union had never been sincere, and probably the Duke hoped, on Mr. Pitt's resignation, to gratify his ambition by the resumption of pre-eminence.^f

In this expectation he was disappointed; Lord Bute was considered the head of administration; and those who expected to obtain favour by connecting themselves with the favourite of their sovereign, were extremely assiduous in their court to him, and profuse in their expressions of attachment. Lord Melcombe was among the foremost to congratulate him on being delivered from a most impracticable colleague; His Majesty from a most imperious servant; and the country from a most dangerous minister^g; but Lord Bute did not exult in the event, and whatever motives of uneasiness he had in the late administration, he was far from think-

Lord Bute considered at the head of administration.

His sentiments on Mr. Pitt's resignation.

such measures as would put an effectual stop to any further remonstrances on that subject.

"The Spanish minister likewise informed me of his having heard that several additional works are going forward in order to strengthen the fortifications at Gibraltar; which, he said, will naturally confirm the report, too universally spread, of an approaching rupture between our courts. His Excellency asked me, whether Great Britain could seriously entertain any apprehensions of such an event; and without giving me time to answer, added, that the Catholic King had at no time been more intent on cultivating a good correspondence with His Majesty than at present," &c. &c.

^e See Lord Orford's Works, vol. i. p. 70.

^f History of the late Minority, p. 74.

^g Letter from Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute, 6th October, 1761.

C H A P.

II.

1761.

ing the dissolution of it, in the present minute,^h favourable to the King's affairs.^h

The press teemed with publications on the unexpected change, and the ex-minister and Lord Bute were attacked by their respective opponents with virulent defamation, and rancorous abuse. Mr. Pitt was reviled for accepting a pension and honours, though these could less be considered an edequate reward for his services, than a tribute of respect to his virtues and exertions; and Lord Bute was censured for having occasioned a resignation, which, in fact, filled him with uneasiness. Mr. Pitt's popularity suffered a momentary abatement, and might have been transferred to another, had a competitor appeared; but as there was none, it soon flowed back into its accustomed channel. The common council of London presented a vote of thanks; and, on the Lord Mayor's day, when the King and Queen dined in the city, they were received by the people with indifference, and Lord Bute was assailed with all the insolence of vulgar malignity, while Mr. Pitt was gratified with unbounded marks of applause.

22d Oct.

9th Nov.

3d Nov.
Meeting of
Parliament.

6th.

The new Parliament met while the public mind was thus agitated; and the House of Commons unanimously elected as their speaker Sir John Cust, Baronet, whose integrity and abilities rendered him highly worthy of that distinguished office. The King, in his speech from the throne, after mentioning his happy marriage, adverted to the failure of his efforts at pacification, and stated, as matter of consolation, that the continuance of war, and further effusion of Christian blood, could not, with justice, be imputed to him. He spoke in animated terms of the successes which had distinguished the year; and was persuaded both houses would agree with him

^h See Lord Bute's answer to Lord Melcombe, 8th October. See Appendix, No. 1. Article 4.

in opinion, that the steady exertion of our most vigorous efforts, in every part where the enemy might still be attacked with advantage, could alone be productive of such a peace, as might with reason be expected from our successes. “ It is, “ therefore,” he continued, “ my fixed resolution, “ with your concurrence and support, to carry on “ the war in the most effectual manner for the ad- “ vantage of my kingdoms, and to maintain, to “ the utmost of my power, the good faith and ho- “ nour of my crown, by adhering firmly to the “ engagements entered into with my allies. In “ this I will persevere until my enemies, moved “ by their own losses and distresses, and touched “ with the miseries of so many nations, shall yield “ to the equitable conditions of an honourable “ peace ; in which case, as well as in the prosecu- “ tion of the war, no consideration whatever shall “ make me depart from the true interest of my “ kingdoms, and the honour and dignity of my “ crown.”

To the House of Commons, beside the other necessary supplies, His Majesty recommended an adequate and honourable provision for the support of the Queen, in case she should survive him ; and in conclusion, added, “ that there never was a situa- “ tion, in which unanimity, firmness, and dispatch, “ were more necessary for the safety, honour, and “ true interest of Great Britain.”

Both houses voted loyal and affectionate addresses ; one of congratulation was presented to the Queen ; and the Commons resolved, that in case of her surviving His Majesty, she should enjoy a pension of one hundred thousand pounds per annum, together with the palace of Somerset House, and the lodge and lands at Richmond Park. An act framed to this effect passed unanimously. When it received the royal assent, the Queen was in

7th and
14th Nov.
Addresses.

19th.
Queen's
dowry set-
tled.

2d Dec.

C H A P. the House of Lords, and testified her satisfaction
II. and gratitude by a graceful obeisance to the King.

1761.

Recess.

The supplies for the current year amounted to eighteen millions; twelve millions of which were raised by annuities chargeable on the sinking fund; and the most material business being dispatched, both houses adjourned for the Christmas holidays.

CHAPTER THE THIRD.

1761 — 1762.

Progress of the negotiation with Spain. — Disposition of the British cabinet. — Lord Bristol makes repeated inquiries respecting the Family Compact, but without effect. — Quits Spain. — Memorial of De Fuentes. — Declaration of war. — Spain and France attempt to engage Portugal in their cause. — But failing, declare war against that kingdom.

FOR a short period after Mr. Pitt's resignation, the Earl of Bristol continued convinced of the amicable dispositions of the court of Spain. He even declared, that General Wall had ever acted in too ingenuous a manner to justify a suspicion of duplicity, and intimated that every dispute might easily be adjusted, if a slight concession, not inconsistent with justice or national dignity, was made by yielding some of our most recent encroachments in America. The court of Spain expressed regret at the termination of the treaty for peace with France, but indicated no displeasure, nor the slightest design of interference.

The British cabinet was disposed to cultivate amity, and gratify the punctiliousness of Castilian honour; but as, according to the assertions industriously circulated by France, Spain was on the point of engaging in the war, and the purport of the treaty which had been entered into was hostile to Great Britain, it became necessary to require an explicit declaration. Had they omitted this demand, the ministry would have been exposed to just censure; and if they had proceeded in a negotiation, while a compact of such supposed importance remained in

CHAP.
III.

1761.
Sept. 21st
and 28th.
Pacific appearance of
Spain.
Oct. 5.

Disposition
of the
British
cabinet.

C H A P.
III.

1761.
28th Oct.
Lord Bristol
directed to
make in-
quiries con-
cerning the
Family
Compact.

a state of inscrutable mystery, their pusillanimity would have been without justification or excuse.

Accordingly, Lord Bristol was directed to use his most pressing instances to obtain a communication of the treaty acknowledged to have been lately concluded between the courts of Madrid and Versailles, or of such articles as could, by particular and explicit engagements, immediately relate to the interest of Great Britain. At the same time, Lord Egremont, who wrote these instructions, stated, that although the King, confiding in his Catholic Majesty's assurances of friendship, was unwilling to suppose it prejudicial to Great Britain, yet, as the declarations of France had been diligently and successfully propagated, an explanation with regard to this already too much credited report, became equally necessary to the honour of his crown and the interest of his people. Lord Bristol was to urge this matter in the most friendly terms, and, after gently insinuating the arguments contained in the dispatch, to shew that His Majesty ought to be satisfied in this before he should proceed to other points: But, on the other hand, he was directed to give the Spanish minister the strongest assurances, that this obstacle once removed, His Majesty was cordially disposed to enter into an amicable discussion of other matters in dispute, trusting that a confirmed reciprocal confidence, would indicate expedients to save the honour of both Kings, effect a satisfactory adjustment, and establish an advantageous and permanent harmony.

In a "secret and confidential" dispatch, it was left to Lord Bristol's judgment to decide the mode of commencing this important and delicate discussion; if he found insuperable objections to the required communication; and if it should be proposed, in lieu of it, to give solemn assurances of the innocence of the treaty with respect to the

King's interest, he was not utterly to reject the alternative, but take it *ad referendum*, to be transmitted to the court of London; "Provided always, that the said assurances should be given upon His Catholic Majesty's royal word, signified in writing, either by the Spanish secretary of state to Lord Bristol, or by the Conde de Fuentes to the secretary of state in London, and not otherwise."

C H A P.
III.
1761.

Before the arrival of this dispatch, Lord Bristol, finding General Wall's behaviour greatly altered, had sent a messenger express to London. This alteration arose, most probably, from the intelligence of Mr. Pitt's resignation, and its motives, which occasioned great fermentation. The court of Madrid was at a loss to conceive how the declaration of war should ever have been moved in His Majesty's council, since they always considered themselves the aggrieved party, and never could imagine that the English would commence hostilities.

Altered behaviour of the Spanish minister.
2d Nov.

Lord Bristol, alarmed at the prevailing reports of an approaching rupture, and entertaining some apprehensions of an agreement to that effect between their Catholic and Christian Majesties, declared to M. Wall, that he could neither hear such reports with indifference, nor give credit to them without an explicit avowal from himself.

Instead of a specific answer, Wall began a recapitulation of the Spanish complaints, affirming that Great Britain, intoxicated with success, had contemned the reasonable concessions of France, with a view to ruin that power, that she might more easily seize all the Spanish possessions in America, and thus gratify her unbounded thirst of conquest. He added, with uncommon warmth, that since the King's dominions were to be overwhelmed, he would advise him at least to arm his subjects, and not continue, as he had hitherto appeared, a passive victim.

C H A P.

III.

1761.

Lord Bristol, astonished at this discourse, and convinced he should obtain no effectual answer to his inquiries at that conference, desisted, but again introducing the subject when M. Wall was not so much exasperated, by dint of perseverance obtained an avowal, that "his King thought it time "to open his eyes, and not suffer a neighbour, an ally, a relation, and a friend, any longer to run "the risque of receiving such rigid laws, as were "prescribed by an insulting victor." The Spanish minister further acknowledged, that His Catholic Majesty had judged it expedient to renew his Family Compacts with the Most Christian King; but refused an answer to Lord Bristol's inquiries concerning their nature and extent.

Conduct of
the British
ministry.

The British ministry could not, after Mr. Pitt's resignation, receive this intelligence with indifference. By resisting his advice, they had exposed themselves to the charge of timidity and want of foresight, and in the last dispatch to Lord Bristol, had taken particular pains to obviate the effect of such a supposition in Spain, by observing, that the measures of government would suffer no relaxation on account of Mr. Pitt's quitting the cabinet: far from its being true that the whole spirit of the war had subsided with him, the present ministry were resolved, by a vigorous exertion of their powers, to avoid every imputation of indecision or indolence, and would stretch every nerve towards forcing the enemy to accede to a safe, honourable, and, above all, a lasting peace. The dispatch also stated, that the most perfect harmony, mutual confidence, and unanimity, reigned in the council; with a thorough determination to push the war with such vigour as would, under Providence, procure still further success.

19th Nov.

Influenced by these just and dignified sentiments, Lord Egremont, in a dispatch to Lord Bristol, after due commendations on his modera-

tion, and some pointed remarks on the intemperance of the Spanish secretary, observed, that the result of his inquiries was unsatisfactory; he was, therefore, expressly commanded, without loss of time, to demand an immediate, clear, and categorical explanation of the intentions of Spain, and assure M. Wall, in explicit terms, that any procrastination, ambiguity, or evasion, would be considered sufficient ground for authorizing His Majesty to take proper measures for the honour of his crown and protection of his people. At the same time, Lord Bristol was directed cautiously to avoid harshness of manner, and not to mix any thing in his conversation which could have the least tendency to indispose or irritate the Spanish minister, as the King's desire of peace was sincere, and the continuance of it would give him unbounded satisfaction.

This dispatch, which Lord Bristol was instructed to use as he should think proper, was accompanied by two others, in which was directed, if he did not receive the satisfaction required in the letter of the 28th of October, or the explanation which he was then permitted to take *ad referendum*; or if the Spanish minister should acknowledge any agreement, with any intention of joining France in the war; to quit Madrid without taking leave. And he was directed to signify to M. Wall, that a peremptory refusal of giving satisfaction, or of disavowing any intention to take part with our inveterate and declared enemies in the present contest, could not be considered by His Majesty in any other light, than an aggression, and an absolute declaration of war.

Meanwhile great exertions were made throughout Spain, for increasing the military and naval establishments, and large quantities of warlike stores were embarked for the West Indies. Lord Bristol, continuing to press for satisfaction on the

Preparations
in Spain.

C H A P.

III.

1761.

subject of the treaty, had succeeded in restoring M. Wall to his accustomed temper; and assurances of pacific dispositions were reciprocally given. The King's speech at the opening of the session of Parliament, and the address of the House of Commons, were communicated to the Spanish minister, who highly approved of the patriotism, moderation, and wisdom which they displayed.

Still no satisfaction could be obtained on the principal subject of inquiry. In a memorial transmitted from Spain to the Conde de Fuentes, ambassador in London, and delivered by him to Lord Egremont, the claim of Great Britain to be informed of the nature of the treaty, and the manner in which that claim had been urged, were treated with great loftiness.

Soon after receiving the dispatches of the 28th of October, Lord Bristol held a conference with M. Wall, who assumed a cold and distant deportment, treating the assurances of a pacific disposition with disregard; and observing, that although such expressions could never be received but with sincere satisfaction, yet as the British ambassador had been so often directed to hold the same language, unaccompanied by any proofs of those dispositions, it could not seem extraordinary if Spain still pressed for the redress of grievances so long depending. With regard to the treaty, he said, his royal master deemed it inconsistent with his dignity, either to grant a communication, or satisfy British curiosity in relation to any of the articles; yet he added, as from himself, he could, with the utmost facility, give a positive answer to Lord Bristol's inquiry.— Here he abruptly terminated his discourse, nor could Lord Bristol obtain any assurance of the innocency of the treaty, but received, instead, a copy of M. Wall's dispatch to the Conde de Fuentes.

These circumstances made a strong impression on the mind of the British ambassador, and he was

3d Dec.
Conduct of
M. Wall.

Lord Bristol's final
interviews
with Wall.

preparing dispatches on the subject, when he received Lord Egremont's last official letters, and immediately waited on General Wall, who was confined to his chamber, stating the effect which his angry declarations had produced in London; but availing himself of the discretionary power with which he was intrusted, he dwelt only in general terms on the intentions of Spain with regard to England. The reason he gives for this conduct, marks his good sense and moderation: "I perceived General Wall's tone to be of so conciliating a nature, he expressed his wishes so strongly that some method might be found for an amicable adjustment of our differences, and was so far from dropping the least word that could make me imagine Spain intended to act hostilely against us, that I began to flatter myself I might obtain the categorical answer I was ordered to demand, without the Spanish minister's suspecting my ultimate orders. When I was going out of his room, he took me by the hand, and said with a smile, he hoped ———; but there he stopped. I asked him what he hoped, that I might also hope, and that all might concur in the same hopes; but his Excellency only bowed, and took leave."

C H A P.
III.
1761.
5th Dec.
6th.

These pleasing illusions vanished the next evening, when Lord Bristol received from the hand of M. Wall, a communication of the King's answer in writing, expressing, in general terms, esteem for the King, and referring to the dispatch to Fuentes; and this was declared to be the only answer the Catholic King judged it expedient to give. Lord Bristol reminded the Spanish minister of the pressing endeavours he had employed to procure a satisfactory explanation; and observed, that as he found himself unable to obtain a communication of the treaty, or the alternative which he had proposed, he was now authorized to ask,—Whether

C H A P.

III.

1761.

the Catholic King intended to join the French, or to act hostilely? or would in any manner depart from his neutrality? To these interrogatories he required a categorical answer; adding, that a refusal would be deemed an aggression, and a declaration of war.

The minister was unprepared for this resolute appeal. "I cannot describe," Lord Bristol says, "the surprize M. Wall expressed. He only brought out these words, What is to follow? you are, then, directed to withdraw from hence?" The ambassador acknowledged that such were his orders, but omitted no representation which might induce Spain to prevent the miseries of war, and even pressed M. Wall to conquer the effects of his indisposition, so far as to attend the King himself, and set forth the fatal consequences which must result from withholding a precise reply.

Lord Bristol leaves Spain.

10th Dec.

Lord Bristol's demand being reduced to writing, M. Wall, in conformity to his advice, attended the King, and returned for answer, that the spirit of haughtiness and discord which dictated this inconsiderate demand, and which, for the misfortune of mankind, still reigned so much in the British government, was what made, in the same instant, the declaration of war, and attacked the King's dignity. Lord Bristol was allowed to retire when and in what manner might be most convenient, and no other answer was to be given.

Memorial of Fuentes.

15th Dec.

These transactions were announced to De Fuentes from his court, with directions to depart from London: but he first delivered a memorial to the British ministry, declaring that the horrors into which the two nations were going to plunge themselves, must be attributed only to the pride and unmeasurable ambition of him who formerly held the reins of government, and who appeared still to hold them, although by another hand. He

justified the King of Spain for not giving an answer respecting the treaty, on account of the insulting manner in which all the affairs of Spain had been treated during Mr. Pitt's administration; that minister, he said, finding himself convinced of the justice which supported the Catholic King's pretensions, vehemently asserted, "that he would not relax in any thing, till the Tower of London was taken sword in hand." De Fuentes voluntarily declared the obnoxious treaty had no relation to the present war: and although His Catholic Majesty had reason to be offended by the irregular manner in which the memorial was returned to M. de Bussy, he had dissembled, and, from his love of peace, caused a memorial to be delivered to Lord Bristol, evidently demonstrating that the proceedings of France, which occasioned so much ill-humour in the minister Pitt, did not affect the laws of neutrality, or the sincerity of the two sovereigns.

The King of Spain had offered to wave the Family Compact for the present, if it was found an impediment for peace; but when the French minister continued his negotiation, without mentioning Spain, and proposed conditions greatly to the advantage and honour of England, Pitt, to the astonishment of the universe, rejected them with disdain, and shewed his ill-will against Spain, to the great scandal of the British council.

This feeble attempt to create discord in the cabinet, and excite discontent in the nation, failed in producing those effects: It was answered in a masterly manner by Lord Egremont. War was declared against Spain, and a counter declaration issued in that country.^a

War declared
against
Spain.
31st Dec.
2d Jan.
1762.
16th Jan.

^a See papers relative to the rupture with Spain. The transactions thus minutely recorded, shew that Great Britain was not open to censure, on the one hand, for wantonly and unnecessarily engaging in a war; or, on the other, for deferring hostilities till it was too late to prosecute them with effect.

C H A P.

III.

1762.

It is easy to perceive, from the conduct of this negotiation, that Spain was desirous to avoid a war; but, duped by France, adopted those measures which could not fail of producing it. Spain, anxious that the power of France should not be too much reduced, would have attacked Great Britain in order to obtain favourable terms of peace, if she could have hoped to do it with advantage. But the Spanish minister was not convinced that that period was arrived: even his anger bore the characteristic marks of fear and precipitation, and his most violent declarations seemed to be produced less by hope than despair. France, by the terms in which the claims of Spain had been mentioned in the course of the last treaty for peace, succeeded in exciting a jealousy of the court of Madrid, and the colour given to the Family Compact, completed the mistrust, and roused the vigilance of the British court. Nothing remained but to exasperate the two countries to a sufficient degree. To inflame the courage of Spain, the King of Prussia's affairs were represented in the most unfavourable light; and the admonitions of prudence were repelled by assurances, that Great Britain would never dare to contend against the united efforts of the house of Bourbon. The Family Compact obliged Spain to guaranty the safety of all such possessions as should remain to France after the war^b; and to give the utmost beneficial effect to the treaty, the court of Versailles, with crafty policy, instantly involved Spain as a principal in the contest.

Conduct of
Spain to-
wards
Portugal.

Spain, having thus thrown herself into the arms of France, adopted all measures calculated to forward the interests of her ally. It was hoped that by producing a rupture with Portugal, Spain would have the tempting inducement of an easy

^b See Article II.

C H A P.

III.

1762.

conquest to engage with spirit in the war; and the injury done to the commerce of Britain, would more than counterbalance those advantages which made the English ministry insist on terms so humiliating as the price of peace.^d

As there was no pretence of justice for this attack, little attention was paid to appearances in the mode of commencing it. Large armies were assembled on the frontiers of Portugal; and the commerce of corn with Spain was prohibited. The Spanish ambassador and French plenipotentiary suddenly delivered a joint memorial to Joseph, King of Portugal, stating, that the two monarchs had found it proper to establish reciprocal obligations, and take other indispensable steps to curb the pride of Britain; and the first measure they agreed on was, to include the Most Faithful King in their alliance; they, therefore, required him forthwith to declare himself united with their Catholic and Most Christian Majesties, in the war against England, and to break off all correspondence and commerce with that power, as the common enemy of all three, and of all maritime nations. A categoric answer was demanded in four days, and a delay was to be considered as a negative.

16th Mar.

On this memorial it is unnecessary to make a single comment: in the language of Mr. Pitt, "it speaks its own enormity." Within the time limited, the King of Portugal returned an answer, declining, with decent firmness, all interference in the existing quarrels, unless his perseverance in the line of neutrality, should entitle him to the character of mediator: he displayed his motives with candour and temperance, and in the whole paper gave not the slightest instance of irritation, or ostentatious inflexibility. The Bourbon

Portugal
compelled
to declare
war.

20th Mar.

^d Œuvres du Roi de Prusse, vol. iv. p. 59.

C H A P. III. ministers, in reply, presented a second memorial, in which they attempted, with despicable sophistry, to invalidate the subsisting treaties between Great Britain and Portugal, and to convince His Most Faithful Majesty, that justice, no less than interest, ought to induce him to engage in the war. The answer to this insidious and insolent paper, breathes the spirit of an indignant monarch: after refuting the arguments adduced, the King concludes, "His Most Faithful Majesty declares, finally, that it would affect him less (though reduced to the last extremity, of which the Supreme Judge is the sole arbiter) to let the last tile of his palace fall, and see his faithful subjects spill the last drop of their blood, than to sacrifice, together with the honour of his crown, all that Portugal holds most dear, and submit, by such extraordinary means, to become an unheard-of example to all pacific powers, who will be no longer able to enjoy the benefit of neutrality, whenever a war shall be kindled between other nations, with which the former are connected by defensive treaties." This resolution decided the allied monarchs, who concluded an angry memorial by requiring passports for their ambassadors. The King of Portugal was not deterred by menaces from pursuing his system: he delivered a justificatory paper, and, without delay, granted the required safe-conduct. The ambassadors left Portugal; and Joseph issued a declaration of war, which produced counter declarations from the Kings of France and Spain.

1762.
1st April.

5th.

23d April.

25th.

27th.

18th May.

16th and

20th June.

CHAPTER THE FOURTH.

1762.

Proceedings in Parliament. — Motion for papers. — Assistance granted to Portugal. — Prorogation. — Disunion of the cabinet. — The Duke of Newcastle resigns. — Lord Bute's ministry. — He discontinues the Prussian subsidy. — Death of Elizabeth Empress of Russia. — Peter III. friendly to the King of Prussia. — Peace between Russia and Prussia. — Report of Lord Bute's clandestine negotiations with Russia and Austria, examined and refuted. — Revolution in Russia. — Disposition of Catherine II. — The King of Prussia retakes Schweidnitz. — Cassel taken. — Expedition against Martinico. — Capture of Grenada and its dependencies. — The French take the town of St. John's, Newfoundland: which is recaptured. — War in Portugal. — Rapid Success of the Spaniards. — Arrival of the British troops. — General Burgoyne takes Valencia. — Beats up the enemy's quarters at Villa Velha. — Retreat of the Spaniards. — Expedition against the Havannah. — Progress and success of the siege. — Expedition against the Philippine Isles. — Manilla taken. — Capture of the Santissima Trinidad, and of the Hermione. — Unsuccessful expedition against Buenos Ayres.

WHEN Parliament met after the recess, the King in a speech from the throne, informed the houses of the rupture with Spain, and with great force and propriety exculpated himself from all blame in the transaction. The House of Commons made a dutiful answer, and promised their firm support.

Before the recess (11th Dec.) a motion was made in the House of Commons, to address the King for copies of all memorials delivered by the Spanish ambassador, and as it was supported by Mr. Pitt, his conduct in resigning was rendered an object of discussion. He insisted that every paper which had passed during the six years' nego-

C H A P.
IV.

1762.
19th Jan.
Proceed-
ings in Par-
liament.

Motion for
papers.

C H A P. tiation with Spain, relative to the existing disputes,
 IV. should be laid before the house, but the proposal
 was rejected.

1762.

Motions to the same effect being renewed, the same topics were necessarily introduced: Lord Temple vindicated the conduct of himself and Mr. Pitt in resigning, and intimated, that a knowledge of the existence of the Family Compact was the foundation of their advice. Lord Bute positively asserting that there was no intelligence of such a fact, so constituted, at that time, as to be depended on; challenged him to produce it, and required to know where it might be found, that he might request the King to order it to be laid before the house. Lord Temple quitting his seat, said, he was not at liberty to publish that intelligence, but would refresh his Lordship's memory in private. A short whispering took place between the two peers. It is averred, on the one hand, that Lord Bute was perfectly satisfied of the correctness of Lord Temple's assertion; on the other, and with more appearance of probability, that the result of their conversation was not productive of such conviction. It naturally occurs on such an occasion to ask, why Lord Temple did not justify himself in his place? why he did not persevere in stating to the whole house that he had the means of proving what he advanced, if Lord Bute would procure His Majesty's dispensation from the effect of his oath as privy counsellor? It is even averred, that the assertion which gave rise to this extraordinary scene was often repeated in the course of the debates on the production of papers; but never, in any manner, repelled by Lord Temple^a. The papers were laid before Parliament, and printed.

29th Jan.

^a See History of the late Minority, p. 33. The contrary statement is taken from a paper of memorandums among the MSS. of Lord Melcombe.

C H A P.
IV.

1762.
5th Feb.
Motion
respecting
the war in
Germany.

The conduct of the war did not escape animadversion. A motion was made in the House of Lords, when the King's speech came under consideration, reprobating the expense of campaigns in Germany; affirming that the French force was greatly superior to any that could be maintained by Great Britain; and recommending that the troops employed abroad should be brought home for the protection of Great Britain and Ireland, and for the purpose of diminishing the national burdens. The arguments by which this question was supported or opposed, are not preserved, but it was negatived by a large majority^b. It occasioned a strong protest, which was subscribed by seven peers; among whom was the Duke of Bedford, lord privy seal.^c

The progress of French and Spanish aggression against Portugal, having determined the King to afford the assistance due to the merits and necessities of so faithful an ally, a message was delivered to the House of Commons, requesting them to enable His Majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, and take necessary measures for defeating the enterprises of the enemy.

Assistance
granted to
Portugal.
11th May.

The ministry proposed a grant of a million, but it was objected, that the sum was too large for the supposed purpose, and the King of Portugal had no right to expect any assistance from Great Britain, because he had violated his engagements with the English wine-merchants. Mr. Pitt, with great spirit and propriety, argued in favour of the supply; vindicated the King of Portugal, and asserted that the sum intended was not more than sufficient. He defended the conduct of the German war; and ridiculed the notion of Great Britain being rendered incapable of prosecuting the contest for want

13th May.

^b Contents 16. Non-contents 105.

^c A similar question was debated in the House of Commons (Dec. 9th), when the House was so crowded with visitors, that the members found difficulty in taking their seats. The order for excluding strangers was enforced during the remainder of the session.

C H A P.

IV.

1762.

of resources. France he affirmed was a ruined nation, and if his advice had been adopted, one campaign would have sufficed to bring the war to a fortunate conclusion. After some further observations, mostly of a personal nature, the sum required was voted.

2d June.
Prorogation.

In closing the session, His Majesty mentioned the hopes he still entertained of seeing the conflicts which agitated Europe happily terminated; and assured Parliament he would return their zeal and affection for his person and government, by a constant attention to whatever might contribute to the ease of his subjects; and it was his ardent wish to found the glories of his reign on the union of his people, and the welfare and prosperity of his kingdoms.

Disunion
of the Ca-
binet.

Since the retreat of Mr. Pitt, the ministry had preserved no appearance of unanimity. Great jealousies subsisted between the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Bute, occasioned no less by the desire of pre-eminence, than by a radical difference of principles and politics. The Duke of Newcastle, on his entrance into public life, enlisted under the banners of party, and was supported through the long period of his ministerial career, by party and family alliances: Lord Bute, pursuing, or perhaps directing, the system of his sovereign, was desirous to free the throne from exclusive domination, and to acquire independence, by resisting claims derived from family and adventitious connexions. The Duke of Newcastle, habituated to Mr. Pitt's ascendancy, bore it without resistance; but could not endure to be considered inferior to Lord Bute. For this reason, while the people carried their idolatry of the late minister to the greatest excess, and attributed to his foresight all the successes which adorned the annals of the new administration, those men in office who, from situation and character, were best able to coun-

teract the effect of these reports, surveyed their progress with indifference, and if not actually in league with the opposition, yet formed a combination among themselves, which left Lord Bute weakly supported to struggle against the united efforts of a party, formidable from numbers, abilities, and popularity.^d

The means of prosecuting the war, formed a principal ground of difference between Lord Bute and the Duke of Newcastle. Lord Bute determined to withdraw all pecuniary support from the King of Prussia, and to relax the efforts which this country was making on the continent of Europe. The Duke of Newcastle, having resolved on an opposite mode of conduct, waited on Lord Bute, and in a peremptory manner insisted on two millions for carrying on the German war, and paying the King of Prussia's subsidy. Lord Bute shewing himself averse to the measure, the Duke of Newcastle declared his intention to resign, unless the money was raised. His Lordship answered, drily, " that if he resigned the peace might be retarded ; " but never requested him to continue in office, " nor said a civil thing to him afterwards while " they remained together. The Duke went immediately to St. James's, demanded an audience, " and announced his unalterable resolution to resign his station, if the subsidy to Prussia was " not continued. The King replied, he should " regret such a determination, because he was " persuaded that he wished well to his service ; " and thus the conference ended.^e

The Duke of Newcastle immediately resigned, refusing a pension, which was offered as the only reward in the power of government to bestow for his long services, and the diminution of his large estate in the uniform support of the house, of

2d May.
The Duke
of New-
castle re-
signs.

^d Letter from Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute, 13th April 1762.

^e This account is taken from a letter written by the Duke of Newcastle to Lord Hardwicke, 7th May 1762.

CHAP.
IV.

1762.
26th May.
Lord Bute's
ministry.
Death of
Elizabeth,
Empress of
Russia.

Brunswick. Lord Bute took his situation at the head of the treasury; Mr. Grenville was appointed secretary of state, and Sir Francis Dashwood chancellor of the exchequer.

If the situation of the King of Prussia had been as desperate at this period, as at the end of last campaign, policy and justice would have been equally repugnant to the refusal of his subsidy; but an incident which human foresight could not divine, and against which all the wisdom of man would have been exerted in vain, had greatly meliorated the condition of Frederick, and even enabled him to retrieve his former losses. This event was the death of Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, one of his most formidable enemies.

5th Jan.

Peter III.
friendly to
the King of
Prussia.

Her nephew and successor, Peter III., had, from motives of jealous policy, been kept at a distance from the court. His understanding was below mediocrity, and his habits dissipated and indolent. He had formed a friendly attachment to the King of Prussia, who, with his usual address, turned that circumstance to advantage. He congratulated Peter on his accession, and received an answer dictated by the warmth of sincere friendship: a negotiation speedily commenced between them, and, after some time, a treaty of peace was signed: an alliance was afterward entered into, in consequence of which the army under Czernichef, amounting to twenty thousand men, was transferred to the service of Frederick.^s

16th Mar.

5th May.
Peace con-
cluded be-
tween Rus-
sia and
Prussia.

The refusal of Lord Bute to continue the Prussian subsidy has been severely arraigned, and many false representations made of his conduct and motives. It is asserted that, soon after the accession of Peter III., he empowered Prince Gallitzin, the Russian envoy extraordinary, to inform his sovereign, that whatever cessions he might require

^s Œuvres du Roi de Prusse, vol. iv. c. 15. Coxe's Travels in Poland, Russia, &c. vol. iii. c. 1. Life of the Empress Catherine II, vol. i. c. 2.

from Frederick, England would ensure compliance; and advised the new Emperor to keep the King of Prussia in check, by means of the corps under Czernichef. Peter, the same accounts add, indignant at this duplicity, transmitted the dispatch to the King of Prussia. It is also averred, that similar overtures were made to Austria, but failed through one of those refinements in policy which often lead statesmen into mistakes. Kaunitz, the Imperial prime-minister, apprehending that Lord Bute's view in making these proposals, was to create dissensions between the courts of Vienna and Versailles, haughtily answered, that the Empress Queen was sufficiently powerful to do justice to her own claims, nor would she degrade her dignity by acceding to a peace mediated by England.^a

Both these accounts are absolutely devoid of foundation, and most probably originated partly in mistake, and partly in the resentment felt by the King of Prussia at the refusal of his subsidy, though in this also the minister was perfectly justifiable.

At the conclusion of the last campaign, the disadvantageous circumstances of Frederick were truly commiserated by the King: and it was resolved to afford him the usual succours. The terms of the former treaty were open to some objections, but the substance was not disputed. The negotiations on this subject were carried on till the beginning of the year 1762, when war was declared against Spain, and the necessity of defending Portugal was foreseen. The British ministry then directed Mr. Mitchell, envoy extraordinary, to recommend in the King's name, that His Prussian Majesty should endeavour to commence a pacific negotiation with the court of Vienna; he was desired to communicate the terms on which he

^a (Euvres du Roi de Prusse, ubi sup. See also History of the late Minority, c. v.

C H A P.

IV.

1762.

February.

would be willing to treat, with an assurance of the King's desire to assist in bringing so salutary a design to perfection. The King of Prussia was also requested to state the means on which he could rely, after so many misfortunes, and such a diminution of his power, for carrying on the war, if that were his intention. This explanation, though anxiously expected, was still refused: the King, hurt at a silence so unexpected and unjustifiable, made his complaints on the subject, but still persevered in the intention of applying to Parliament, at a proper time, to renew the subsidy.

April.

In this interval, news arrived of the death of Elizabeth, which was speedily followed by a manifesto of Peterⁱ, exhorting the King of Prussia's enemies to put a speedy end to the war, and declaring his own resolution of restoring to that Prince the conquests made by his predecessor. Still the British ministry waited for such a communication from the King of Prussia, as would justify them, at a time of such extreme difficulty, in applying to Parliament to increase the national burdens by a renewal of the subsidy; and it was not till after a long term of fruitless expectation, that Mr. Mitchell was directed to hold such language as would prepare Frederick for a total cessation of pecuniary succour.

From the moment of the accession of Peter III. the King of Prussia had maintained a reserved and unfriendly behaviour towards Great Britain. He clandestinely entered into a negotiation with the Czar; the objects of which were extremely detrimental to the British interest, and prejudicial to the engagements of this country with Denmark. The intention of this treaty was, that Peter should guaranty to the King of Prussia the Duchy of Silesia; in return for which, Frederick was to assure to him the possession of Sleswick. While this negotiation was proceeding, and conducted with the utmost secrecy, the King

ⁱ Dated 28th February.

of Prussia still directed his ministers in London to press for a continuance of his subsidy, although he knew that the measures in which he was engaged tended to counteract the pacific intentions of the King, to spread the flames of war, and increase the miseries of mankind.

The refusal to continue the subsidy was not resolved on till an armistice was concluded between Prussia and Russia, and it was extremely probable that Sweden would accede to the same measure.

Undersuch circumstances, Frederick had no right, according to his own declarations, to expect from this country any further pecuniary supplies. At an early period of the war^k, he had stated to Mr. Mitchell, who officially communicated the information to Lord Holderness, then secretary of state, that if England would only engage to prevent his being attacked by Russia, he should have so little occasion for assistance, that he might even be ready to furnish a body of troops for the defence of Hanover. At the present crisis, Great Britain had a powerful additional enemy; Prussia a new and potent friend: the weight of Russia and Sweden was subducted from the scale of his opponents; that of Spain was added to ours: Frederick had Pomerania and Brandenburg, which were no longer in danger, to defend, beside Saxony and Silesia; England had to maintain an extensive war in Germany, and to provide for another in Portugal. This comparison could not escape the observation of the King of Prussia, nor could he reasonably expect that, without a certainty of its being applied toward lessening the objects of war, it was possible to propose the subsidy to Parliament with any hopes of success.

The accusations alleged against the British minister, respecting clandestine negotiations with the Emperor of Russia, and the Empress Queen, are founded either in total mistake, or wilful misrepresentation. Frederick, at the time, complained to the

^k June and July, 1756.

C H A P.
IV.
1762.

King of the reports which had reached him on the subject; and although His Majesty did not think it suitable, either to his own dignity or that of the King of Prussia, to enter personally into such alterations, he permitted Lord Bute to explain the facts, and set them in their true light.

26th May.

In a dispatch, written to Mr. Mitchell for the express purpose of being communicated to Count Finkenstein, the Prussian prime-minister, Lord Bute termed the report of his endeavouring to enter into a separate treaty with Austria, a groundless and shameful falsehood, transmitted to the King from his ministers in England. This explicit and strenuous disavowal, communicated directly from the prime-minister of England to Prussia, was quite sufficient to destroy the credibility of unauthenticated hearsays, which formed the only ground of the suspicion then entertained, and since perpetuated by the publication of Frederick's posthumous works.

With respect to his supposed intimations to Prince Gallitzin, Lord Bute explained himself more amply, and in a manner abundantly satisfactory: he declared the reports which had reached the King of Prussia from the Russian envoy, to be in no respect conformable to the sentiments he had imparted; and imputed the misrepresentation either to mistake, failure of memory, or the known attachment of the Prince to the court of Vienna, which might induce him to give such a turn to his relation of Lord Bute's discourse, as he might think most likely to serve that interest.

Mr. Keith, the British minister at Petersburg, judged, from the particular coldness of the Czar, and from hints which he dropped, that something written by Prince Gallitzin respecting the King's disposition towards Frederick, had given him offence, and this intelligence the Russian monarch probably communicated to the King of Prussia, who had been before disposed, by the malignant and mischievous insinuations of his ministers, to give it, however incredible, implicit belief.

But, at the time of his interview with Prince Gallitzin, Lord Bute had before him his first dispatch to Mr. Keith, after the death of the Empress: his discourse with the envoy was perfectly conformable to that dispatch, which contained the King's own sentiments. Instead of advising Peter to continue his troops on the King of Prussia's territories, the King there expressed particular pleasure and satisfaction at their being ordered to advance no further, and counselled him to abstain from hostilities, and accept an armistice, if offered: far from desiring that the court of Russia should prefer an Austrian to a Prussian alliance, Mr. Keith was directed to execute certain instructions sent him by Frederick, which were not favourable to the Empress Queen.

The King of Prussia might probably take umbrage at the strong preference given in that dispatch to pacific measures, and at the restriction laid on Mr. Keith from concurring in any proposal tending to protract the war: this however was no secret instruction; for Mr. Mitchell was directed to make the same declaration, and shape his conduct by the same rule.

For the satisfaction of the King of Prussia on this point, Lord Bute transmitted to Mr. Mitchell, *in extenso*, every sentence in the dispatch to Mr. Keith relating to the general affairs of Europe, or to the King of Prussia in particular. He forcibly displayed the extreme improbability of his holding to the Russian minister a language, not merely different from, but absolutely contradictory to, the orders he had just sent from the King to his own minister at that court; and of his declaring, or even insinuating, with those very orders in his hand, that His Majesty's sentiments were diametrically opposite.¹

Beside the advantageous change which had taken place in the politics of Russia, some other circumstances contributed to restore the affairs of Fre-

¹ From two dispatches from Lord Bute to Mr. (afterwards Sir) Andrew Mitchell, dated 9th April and 26th May, 1762. See Appendix.

C H A P.
IV.
1762.

7th March.

Revolution
in Russia.

10th July.

derick. The Empress Queen, confident of being able to achieve all her projects, and instigated by a spirit of parsimony never safely indulged in war, dismissed twenty thousand of her troops. The King of Prussia also agreed to a cessation of arms with Sweden^m; and, being thus disembarrassed, was enabled to enter on the campaign with a change in the scale of forces, amounting to sixty thousand men, in his favour; a greater advantage, as he himself observes, than he could have derived from gaining three pitched battles.ⁿ

Under these favourable circumstances, Frederick began his operations in Silesia; but, before he had made any considerable progress, another revolution in Russia deprived him, in part, of the benefits he expected to derive from the fortunate turn in his affairs. The new Emperor, fascinated with the character of his friend the King of Prussia, and impelled by an absurd instinct of imitation, made him his model in every particular. Not content with joining him in war, he introduced the Prussian discipline into his army, and the Prussian, or, as it is called, Frederician Code into his senate. He was obstinately bent on a war with Denmark; attacked the property of the clergy; and formed a project for repudiating his consort, marrying his mistress, and declaring his son illegitimate^o. These acts rendered him highly unpopular; and self-preservation, as well as ambition, stimulated Catherine to a speedy and vigorous exertion. The feeble character of the Emperor facilitated her designs; the execution of his great projects required talents which he did not possess: a conspiracy was formed against him; he was deposed; signed an abject instrument of abdication; was imprisoned, treated with neglect and harshness; and at

^m Peace was concluded the 22d May.

ⁿ *Œuvres du Roi de Prusse*, ubi sup.

^o See Coxe's *Travels in Russia*, &c. vol. iii. c. 1. which contains the earliest and most authentic account of this revolution.

length, if we may believe an uncontradicted report, privately assassinated.^p C H A P.
IV.

1762.
17th July.

The King of Prussia expected this revolution to be highly prejudicial to his affairs, and that Catherine would entertain a hatred against him, proportioned to the friendship of Peter; but that Princess shewed no symptoms of a vindictive disposition; on the contrary, finding from the correspondence which came to her hands after her husband's dethronement, that Frederick had ever opposed his rage for reformation, and counselled him to treat his consort with due tenderness, she was sensibly affected. It was not consistent with her policy to disgust her subjects, by compelling them to serve on the opposite side to that on which they had been so many years engaged; or give offence to the courts of Vienna and Versailles. She therefore withdrew the Russian auxiliaries from the King of Prussia's army, but restored the conquests which had been made by Elizabeth, and contented herself with observing a prudent neutrality. Frederick, though deprived of this assistance, made a successful campaign, recovered the fortress of Schweidnitz, and convinced his enemies that their project of destroying him was not advanced by all their exertions.^q

9th Oct.
The King
of Prussia
retakes
Schweidnitz.

The campaign of the allied armies under Prince Ferdinand, and the Marquis of Granby, was brilliant and successful: they succeeded in preventing the French from obtaining possession of Hanover, and took from them the city of Cassel.

Cassel taken.

A continuance of the war produced no benefit to France; the vigour with which hostilities were carried on shewed that the minister, who ardently desired peace, was sensible that it could be effectually obtained only by success in the field. A formidable

7th Nov.
Expedition
against
Martinique.

^p See Life of the Empress Catherine II. vol. i. c. 2. History of the Revolution in Russia, by M. de Rulhiere. — It is to be observed of this unfortunate prince, that although his imprudence, levity, and pusillanimity, exposed him to censure and contempt, he possessed many amiable qualities, and rendered some essential services to his country.

^q Œuvres du Roi de Prusse, vol. iv. c. 16.

C H A P.

IV.

1762.

5th Jan.

3th.

26th.

24th.

4th Feb.

12th.

land force of twelve thousand men, under the command of General Monckton, with a fleet of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates and inferior vessels, under Rear-Admiral Rodney, sailed to attack Martinique, the chief of the French Leeward Islands, the residence of the Governor-General, and the sovereign council. On anchoring in St. Anne's Bay, the *Raisonable* man of war was lost, through the unskilfulness of the pilot, and the place being deemed improper for a disembarkation, two brigades landed at the bay of Petite Anse, and the rest of the army at a creek called Cas des Navires. The island was defended by few regular troops, but had a numerous and well-armed militia, and was in itself a natural fortification, from a number of ravines and rivulets with which it was intersected; and the French, with great judgment, posted guards, and erected batteries to impede the progress of invasion. As a preparatory measure to the siege of Fort Royal, the General attacked two eminences, called Morne Tortenson, and Morne Garnier. The former was assailed with irresistible impetuosity, and though defended with spirit and pertinacity, finally captured. Morne Garnier, being equally strong, much higher, and overlooking and commanding the other, three days were employed in making the dispositions for the assault, in which period the enemy made a furious sally on the English out-posts: they were not only repulsed, but the party attacked, passing the ravines, scaled the hill, seized the batteries, and obtained complete possession of Morne Garnier. These positions being gained, the enemy waited only till the batteries against Fort Royal were completed, to yield; and when General Monckton was preparing to embark with his troops for the attack of St. Pierre, the capital of the island, the French, intimidated by preceding events, surrendered by capitulation.^r

^r The thanks of Parliament were voted to the commanders on this expedition. See debates, 6th May, 1762.

After the capture of Martinique, Grenada, and the Grenadines, Tobago, St. Lucie, and St. Vincent's speedily surrendered; and the whole property of the Charibbee Islands centered in Great Britain.^s

To counterbalance these advantages, France made only one temporary conquest. A squadron under M. de Tournay, escaping from Brest in a fog, entered the Bay of Bulls in Newfoundland, captured the town of St. John's, took prisoners a company of soldiers, who constituted the garrison; captured a sloop of war and several other vessels, destroyed the stages for curing cod, and did considerable damage. Orders were immediately issued for fitting out a squadron to reconquer the place, but Sir Jeffery Amherst had previously dispatched Lord Colville and Colonel Amherst from Halifax, who easily expelled the invaders.^t

When Spain was induced to enter into the war, the project of a successful attack on Portugal, was a consolation for the losses she might expect to sustain in other quarters. Portugal appeared entirely helpless and distracted; the feebleness of its government, the effects of bigotry, the melancholy remains of a dangerous conspiracy, and the horrors of a recent earthquake, all contributed to render this unhappy kingdom an object of generous compassion, rather than of unprovoked aggression.

The vicinity of the Spanish troops to the frontier gave them great advantages; they passed the boundary before war was declared, and an army, commanded by the Marquis de Sarria, laid siege to the town of Miranda. A powder magazine blew up by accident, and, besides destroying five hundred of the garrison, made such breaches in the wall, that the Spaniards marched in without difficulty, before they had raised their first battery. Braganza and Moncorvo surrendered without resistance; Chaves was evacuated on the approach of

C H A P.
IV.

1762.

Capture of Grenada, &c.

4th Mar.

May.

The French

take the

town of

St. John's,

Newfound-

land.

24th June.

Which is recaptured 18th Sept.

War in Portugal.

Rapid success of the Spaniards.

9th May.

15th.

24th.

^s Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 149 to 164.

^t Ibid. p. 204.

CHAP.

IV.

1762.

Count O'Reilly; and Spain having overrun almost the whole province of Tra los Montes, Oporto was considered in so much danger, that the British Admiral was preparing to carry off the factory. The Spaniards, however, in attempting to cross the Douro, were opposed by the peasantry, and compelled to retire to Torre de Moncorvo.^u

A second body entered the province of Beira, at the villages of Val de Mula and Val de Coelha, and being joined by strong detachments from the division in Tra los Montes, laid siege to Almeida, which, after an honourable resistance, capitulated on favourable terms.

Great Britain sent to the succour of Portugal eight thousand troops, commanded by Lord Tyrawley (who also acted as ambassador), the Earl of Loudon^x, Lieutenant-General Townsend, and under them Lord George Lenox, and Brigadiers Crawford and Burgoyne. Finding himself but ill seconded by the Portuguese, who could not easily conquer their bigoted aversion to heretics, Lord Tyrawley retired in disgust, declaring that the war between Spain and Portugal was a mere collusion to dupe the British government^y. Fortunately at this period, the command of the Portuguese force was given to the Count de la Lippe Buckbourg, an active and intelligent

^u In this action the King of Spain accuses the Portuguese of having cruelly maimed and mutilated his subjects,—conduct which was afterwards severely revenged. See the King of Spain's Manifesto, 25th June.

^x The Earl of Loudon, who was appointed second in command, attended the troops from England; Lord Tyrawley had previously arrived.

^y Such was the account given by Lord Tyrawley; but nearly forty years afterward, when passion must have subsided, and no motive for misrepresentation could exist, the Marquis Townsend, in a debate in the House of Lords, said: of the attachment of Portugal to this country, he should always be ready to bear testimony, and he could do so from personal knowledge. He served in that kingdom in 1762; and it was not possible for any troops in a foreign land to receive stronger marks of attachment, or a more hearty co-operation, than that experienced by the troops of His Britannic Majesty, at the period to which he alluded. All ranks of people shewed the utmost alacrity in affording their assistance; and it was no where more conspicuous than among the mountaineers and the lowest order of the people. This it was that rendered the resistance to the enemies of Portugal effectual and successful.

25th July.

25th Aug.

Arrival of
the British
troops.

officer, who had commanded the artillery of the British army in Westphalia during the present war; he was exempt from all participation in the feuds which occasioned the retreat of Lord Tyrawley, and, in conjunction with the Earl of Loudon, began immediate operations against a third detachment of Spaniards, who were preparing to enter Portugal.

C H A P.

IV.

1762.

The attack of Valencia d'Alcantara, where large magazines of flour and forage were supposed to be collected, was entrusted to Brigadier Burgoyne. He hoped to surprise the place, but being disappointed, carried the town by a vigorous coup-de-main, with inconsiderable loss, taking a Major-General, upward of twenty officers, fifty-nine soldiers, three pair of colours, and a great quantity of arms and ammunition. He levied a contribution, amounting to the sum of the King's revenue for one year, in consideration of sparing the churches and convents, and brought away hostages for the care of the wounded, and the payment of the stipulated sum.

General Burgoyne takes Valencia.

27th Aug.

The army under the Conde d'Aranda, having left garrisons in Almeida and Castel Roderigo, marched to Castel Branco, forcing La Lippe to retreat, and intending to cross the Tagus at Villa Velha. It was of the utmost importance to counteract this attempt, and prevent their forcing a passage through the mountains. Count de St. Jago occupied the pass of Alvito, deemed impregnable, and Burgoyne was encamped on the southern bank of the Tagus, over-against Villa Velha. The enemy placed six thousand men in front of the Count St. Jago, attacked the old Moorish castle of Vilha Velha on his right, and assaulted a post on his left, at the defile of St. Simon. Burgoyne for some days protected the castle by his cannon across the river; but it was at length taken, St. Simon was reduced, and the enemy obtained possession of the passes of the mountains. St. Jago being thus

And beats up the enemy's quarters at Villa Velha.

1st Oct.

C H A P.

IV.

1762.

6th Oct.

Retreat of
the Spani-
ards.Expedition
against the
Havannah.

5th Mar.

27th May.

placed in imminent danger, La Lippe ordered him to retire, and Lord Loudon was directed to advance through the mountains to protect the retreat. The enemy penetrating into this intention, detached a strong body over the river Alvito, to harass Lord Loudon's rear, which weakened their corps at Villa Velha so much, that Burgoyne was encouraged to beat up their quarters. Colonel Lee passed the Tagus in the night, and while the Spaniards were amused by a feint in front, entered their encampment unperceived, and routed them with great slaughter; most of their officers were killed, the magazines destroyed, and some prisoners taken, besides a valuable booty. Notwithstanding this success, La Lippe found it impossible to defend the passes, and therefore assembled his forces at Macao; but the Spaniards, frustrated in all their endeavours to cross the Tagus, partly by the vigilance of La Lippe, and partly by the heavy rains, evacuated the province of Estremadura, where they could not maintain themselves during the winter, and having dismantled the castle of Almeida, Castel Roderigo, and Castel Borri, terminated a campaign, from which they derived neither honour nor advantage.

In other quarters their ill-fortune was still more conspicuous. The British ministry, disdaining all attempts at subordinate acquisition, meditated the reduction of the Havannah, the principal town of the island of Cuba, where the Spanish galleons and the flota assembled before they finally sailed for Europe, a conquest which would strike terror, and produce the most auspicious consequences. The preparations were commensurate to the object: a fleet sailing from Portsmouth under Admiral Pococke, with ten thousand men, commanded by Lord Albemarle, the friend and pupil of the Duke of Cumberland, was joined off Cape Nicola, by part of the squadron which had been so successful in the operations against Martinique, under the orders

of Sir James Douglas. Thus united, they consisted of nineteen sail of the line, eighteen smaller ships of war, and nearly a hundred and fifty transports. To avoid the tediousness of the common voyage, the Admiral boldly explored a perilous way through the old straits of Bahama, a narrow passage almost seven hundred miles in length, bounded on both sides by dangerous sands and shoals; and, without the slightest accident, arrived before the Havannah.

5th June.

Although no immediate attack was expected, the town was of sufficient strength, both from art and nature, to make a vigorous resistance. By favour of a judicious feint, the troops were landed without loss or opposition, and being divided into two corps, one, under General Elliot, advanced a considerable way into the country, while the other, under General Keppel, besieged the Moro, a fort which commanded the town, and the entrance into the harbour. The difficulties attending this operation were deemed insurmountable. The earth was so thin, that the besiegers, to cover their approaches, used bags of cotton, forming part of the cargo of some ships brought from Jamaica by Sir James Douglas. There was no spring or river in the vicinity; the supply of water from the country was precarious and scanty, and they were obliged principally to depend on the shipping. The labour of cutting roads for communication through the woods, and drawing the artillery, was so excessive, that many dropped down dead with fatigue; but every thing yielded to vigorous perseverance; batteries were raised to assail the fort and shipping; the Spaniards, fifteen thousand in number, were repulsed in a resolute sally; and three British men of war brought their guns to bear on the Moro. These efforts did not make the expected impression; the men of war sustained great injury from the fire of the fort; the capital battery, which was

Difficulties
of the siege.

29th.

3d July.

C H A P.

IV.

1762.

20th.

22d.

28th.

30th.

The Moro
stormed.

made of wood, took fire, and was consumed; half the army, and three thousand seamen, were ill; the hurricane season was rapidly approaching; and a reinforcement of four thousand men expected from North America, did not arrive. Still no murmur, no relaxation of exertion was observed in this army of heroes, and the seamen acted in cordial unison. A lodgment was at length made in the covered way; twelve thousand men, who attempted to drive the besiegers from their works, were repulsed; part of the succours from America arrived; the mines were sprung; and the breach in the walls being deemed practicable, though difficult, orders were given to storm. This dangerous enterprize was hailed by the British as a termination of their labours; they mounted with intrepid gallantry, and after a short but warm contest, drove the enemy from every part of the ramparts: they then formed with coolness and resolution; the Spaniards fled on all sides; four hundred were killed and drowned, and as many laid down their arms. The Marquis de Gonzales, who was second in command, fell in making brave but ineffectual efforts to rally the troops. Don Lewis de Velasco, the governor, to whose valour the long defence of the fort was principally due, collected a hundred men in an intrenchment which he formed round the colours, resolved to defend them to the last extremity. He saw his little band slaughtered or dispersed, and was himself killed by a random shot, while offering his sword to the victors. The humanity which ever attends true courage, sympathized in this deplorable catastrophe of a high-spirited enemy.

Capture of
the town.

2d Aug.

10th.

The Moro being thus reduced, and a second division of the troops from America arrived, new works were begun for the attack of the town. Lord Albemarle summoned the governor to surrender, but having received a civil though firm re-

fusil, opened his batteries with such effect, that flags of truce soon appeared. A capitulation was entered into, by which the Havannah, with a district of a hundred and eighty miles westward, was ceded to the conquerors. The fleet, which also fell into the power of England, consisted of nine ships of the line and four frigates; and the treasure in ready money, tobacco, and other valuable merchandize belonging to the King of Spain, was estimated at three millions sterling. The garrison, reduced to seven hundred, was allowed the honours of war, and a safe conveyance to Spain.^y

C H A P.

IV.

1762.

In another quarter of the globe, the Spanish wealth was exposed to an attack no less hazardous and successful than that on the Havannah. An expedition was dispatched from Madras against Luconia, the principal of the Philippine Isles. The land troops consisted of two thousand three hundred men, chiefly Indians, under the command of Brigadier-General Draper; the naval force was eleven ships from Admiral Cornish's squadron. The troops having effected a landing without loss, though not without opposition, commenced vigorous operations against the town; their gallantry made amends for their deficiency in strength, and in spite of a violent storm, which threatened destruction to the fleet, they completed their batteries, finished a parallel and communication, and established a place of arms. A strong body of Indians in the service of the garrison, made a sally, and fought with incredible ferocity; they were repulsed by the steady valour of the besiegers, and many died, gnawing, like wild beasts, the bayonets with which they were transfixed. A breach was at length effected; and the garrison, instead of endeavouring to repair the works, awaited the event in sullen despair. No proposal to capitulate being

Expedition
against the
Philippine
Isles.

24th Sept.

1st and 2d
October.

4th.

^y Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 170.

C H A P.

IV.

1762.

6th Oct.
Capture of
Manilla.

made, the town was stormed, and, for some hours, unavoidably exposed to the licentiousness of the military. The Archbishop and Governor, with the magistrates, retired into the Citadel, which being in no condition of defence, they were soon obliged to surrender, and a capitulation was agreed to, by which the town of Manilla and port of Cavite, with several ships, and a large quantity of military stores, were surrendered to the King, and four millions of dollars covenanted to be paid as a ransom for the private property in the town. This important conquest was achieved with little loss.^z

Capture of
the Santis-
sima Tri-
nidad.

30th.

In consequence of information contained in some letters, which fell into the hands of the victors, Captains Parker and King, in the Panther, a ship of the line, and the Argo frigate, were dispatched to intercept the galleon Philippina. Instead of the expected prize, they captured the Santissima Trinidad, Acapulco ship, with a cargo valued at three millions of dollars.

Capture
of the
Hermione.

21st May.

These important conquests, by which the resources of Spain were effectually destroyed in less than ten months after the declaration of war, left her in no condition to attempt retrieving the affairs of France. Even the hope of an immediate supply of specie was frustrated early in the contest, by the capture, off St. Vincent's, of the Hermione, a register sloop, bound from Lima to Cadiz; containing treasure and valuable effects to the amount of a million sterling.

Unsuccess-
ful expedi-
tion against
Buenos
Ayres.

30th Aug.

The only attempt against Spain which failed, was a joint expedition planned by Great Britain and Portugal to attack the colony of Buenos Ayres. A fleet, consisting of three frigates, beside small armed vessels and store ships, sailed from the Tagus, with five hundred soldiers, under the command of Captain Macnamara, and reached the River Plata

^z Beatson's Naval and Military Memoirs, vol. iii. p. 131.

without difficulty; but were assailed by a dreadful storm, accompanied by thunder and lightning, and greatly embarrassed by not knowing the soundings. The Spaniards were not only prepared to receive them, but had acted with advantage on the offensive, by possessing themselves of a Portuguese settlement called Nova Colonia, the recovery of which was first attempted. An English pilot, acquainted with the river and coast, undertook to carry the commodore's ship within pistol-shot of the principal fort. After a vigorous cannonade of four hours, the enemy's batteries were nearly silenced, and the British expected to reap the fruits of their valour, when the commander's ship was discovered to be on fire: the flames raged with unconquerable violence, and the distress was augmented by a renewal of the enemy's cannonade: the other vessels, for their own safety, were obliged to keep at too great a distance to afford succour: and finally, of three hundred and forty men, only seventy-eight escaped the flames and the sea: the commodore was drowned. The vessels, reduced almost to wrecks by the enemy's shot, with difficulty reached the Portuguese settlement at Rio Janeiro. The Spaniards, with characteristic gallantry and humanity, succoured and relieved the unfortunate men who were driven on shore; forgot their enmity in their misfortune, and treated them rather like brethren than foes.

C H A P.
IV.

1762.
2d Nov.

1st Jan.
1763.

CHAPTER THE FIFTH.

1762 — 1763.

Birth of the Prince of Wales. — Addresses on the occasion. — Negotiations for peace. — State of the public mind. — Honours conferred on Lord Bute. — Changes in the ministry. — Proceedings in the city of London. — Beckford made Lord Mayor. — Progress of the treaty of peace. — Preliminaries signed. — Examination of the terms. — Objections, and observations. — Discussion of the preliminaries in Parliament. — Definitive treaty signed. — General pacification.

C H A P.
V.

1762.
Birth of the
Prince of
Wales.

12th Aug.

THERE are periods in the history of nations, as in the lives of individuals, when, by a concurrence of fortunate events, every desire seems gratified, and no reflection occurs to restrain an unbounded hilarity; short and unfrequent are such periods, but ever remembered with delight and recorded with exultation. The birth of the Prince of Wales gave the greatest satisfaction to the inhabitants of the British metropolis, who justly looked up to a perpetuation of the Brunswick line, as the most favourable pledge which Providence could afford, that their religion and liberties would be fixed on an immutable basis. While the cannon which announced the joyous event yet sounded, the public were further gratified by the arrival of the treasure captured in the *Hermione*, which in stately procession moved before the palace in its progress to the Tower. The King and principal nobility appeared at the windows of the royal abode, and crowned the raptures of the people by joining heartily in their acclamations.

City address.

A loyal and dutiful address was presented by the city of London, in which it was not forgotten

that the auspicious day of the Prince's birth was sacred to liberty and these kingdoms, in having given the present illustrious family to the throne. Similar addresses were dispatched from all parts of the kingdom.

C H A P.
V.
1762.

The glorious successes of the war had no power to divert the minister's attention from the great object of peace: he was anxious to resume negotiations, and, for that purpose, engaged the King of Sardinia, as a neutral power, to propose to the court of France a termination of hostilities. These proposals could not be disagreeable to the French nation, enfeebled and despondent as they were, and convinced, by the experience of a most active campaign, that the union with Spain, far from bringing the assistance and relief they had fondly hoped, was, in fact, a dangerous association, or at best a listless incumbrance. To prevent the effects which might arise from interested speculations, the minister sent notice to the Lord Mayor of his intention to open a negotiation for peace. The Duke of Bedford was deputed from England as Minister Plenipotentiary, and the Duc de Nivernois from France^a. The final adjustment of the objects of treaty was reserved to Lord Bute and the Earl of Egremont in England, and M. de Choiseul in Paris; their medium of communication being through the Comte de Viri, the Sardinian minister in London, and the Bailli de Solare, minister from the same court in France.^b

Negotiation
for Peace.

30th Aug.

5th Sept.

12th.

^a The Duc de Nivernois is thus described by the Chevalier d'Eon, who attended him on this embassy: "Ce seigneur qui, dans toutes ces ambassades, a toujours paru, comme Anacréon, couronné de mirthes & de roses, & chantant les plaisirs au sein de ses infirmités & des plus pénibles travaux, seroit un des plus grands ministres de la France, si à la bonté, à l'élévation de son cœur, à la sublimité de son génie & des ses talents, il joignoit autant de fermeté que de délicatesse dans l'esprit. Le seul petit défaut que j'aie remarqué dans M. le Duc de Nivernois, est la coquetterie de plaire à tout le monde. Coquetterie, qui nous fait souvent plus d'ennemis que de vrais amis." See *Lettres, Memoires, &c. du Chevalier d'Eon*, Discours preliminaire, p. 5.

^b From private information.

C H A P.

V.

1762.

The public
averse to
peace.

Every reasonable purpose which the British nation could expect to attain by war, was now abundantly gratified: and yet the public was not cordially disposed to hail the return of peace. The constant succession of conquest and victory inspired exaggerated notions of our martial prowess, and hopes of extended colonial acquisition, no less absurd than extravagant. Many persons in power, and a strong party in opposition, could not endure that Lord Bute should enjoy the honour of making a popular peace, and every effort was tried to excite disgust against the measure.

Honours
conferred
on Lord
Bute.

Lord Bute seemed to rise in the King's good opinion, and had the disposal of all honours and dignities in the state. Besides his appointment to the Rangership of Richmond Park, he was installed a Knight of the Garter; an honour which was greatly enhanced by the association of the Duke of York, Brother to the King, in the same ceremony. Yet Lord Bute could not succeed in inspiring personal friendship; his benefits were received without gratitude, and his omission to gratify every interested application produced sullen dissatisfaction, or open opposition.^c

Dismission
of the Duke
of Devon-
shire.
31st Oct.

After the resignation of the Duke of Newcastle, the disunion of the ministry became daily more apparent. The Duke of Devonshire, during the negotiation for peace, absented himself from the council board, and refusing to attend when sum-

^c In answer to an angry remonstrance, occasioned by his having omitted to provide for a dependant of Lord Melcombe, Lord Bute thus expressed himself: "In short, my Lord, though I cannot prevent umbrage being taken at my not satisfying every wish, I shall certainly hinder any reasonable ground of complaint concerning things I have once promised; I own, and without blushing, I have been very unfortunate in the means I have for years taken in cementing friendship, and procuring attachments; others, with much less trouble, perhaps without my sincerity, succeed better: but I repine not. Conscious of my own feelings, conscious of deserving better treatment, I shall go on, though single and alone, to serve my King and country, in the best manner my poor talents will allow me, happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear shall be removed, and placed upon other shoulders."

moned, was dismissed from the office of Lord Chamberlain; and the King, with his own hand, erased his name from the list of privy counsellors. This dismissal produced the resignation of Lord George Cavendish, Comptroller of the Household, and Lord Besborough, joint Post-Master-General. Several noblemen and commoners of distinction openly disclaimed all connection with the minister, and an opposition was forming, of great extent and influence, headed by the Duke of Cumberland.^d

C H A P.

V.

1762.

Other resignations :

The force of the ministry was respectable, but not proportioned to this weight of opposition. The death of Lord Anson created a vacancy at the head of the Admiralty, which was filled by Lord Halifax. This nobleman had acquitted himself with distinguished propriety as Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the situation of the first Lord of the Admiralty was bestowed, as best suited to his merits and talents; but as he was desirous to obtain the place of Secretary of State, an exchange was arranged with Mr. Grenville, and Mr. Fox, who still retained the situation of Paymaster of the Forces, and was destined to lead the House of Commons.

And changes.

6th June.

12th to
16th Oct.

The mere proposal of peace on any terms was odious to the city of London. The protection afforded to trade by a successful maritime war, prevented their feeling the burthens which oppressed the rest of the nation: the money expended by government gave alacrity to mercantile exertion, and was mistaken by the interested and superficial for an increase of beneficial commerce^e. During the negotiation of last year, the city had instructed their representatives to oppose any peace in which the whole, or the greater part, of the conquests made by Great Britain should not be retained. The arrogance of one city thus

Conduct of
the city of
London.

^d See Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 94.

^e The Political Conduct of the Earl of Chatham, p. 12.

C H A P.

V.

1762.

presuming to lay down a rule of war and peace for the whole nation, is not less remarkable than the wildness and absurdity of the terms they attempted to dictate^f. If such were the sentiments of the city during the last negotiation, the brilliant transactions of the present campaign did not induce them to moderate their pretensions, or assume a more humble tone. The capture of the Havannah produced the most absurd expectations; and while they attributed all the success of the war to Mr. Pitt, they considered the proposal of peace as a base dereliction of his plan, and a sacrifice of national honour to the safety of the minister, or, as he was invidiously termed, the favourite.

Beckford
made Lord
Mayor.

Mr. Pitt was not unmindful of these appearances; he saw that, by securing a strong party in the city, he should best be able to make a separate opposition, and harass the ministry. The appointment of the new Lord Mayor appearing an object of importance, Alderman Beckford was fixed on for the office^g; he was a native of Jamaica, of a haughty and turbulent disposition; but he was respected for the independence of his character, and the incorruptibility resulting from unlimited wealth, and he was popular from his devoted adherence to Mr. Pitt. On the day before his appointment, he attended the Common Council, requesting to resign his gown; but the court postponed the consideration of his demand, and elected him Mayor.

28th Sept.

Till the meeting of Parliament no effectual opposition could be made, but innumerable pamphlets, and every other species of publication, conceived

^f Their instructions on this head are in these words: "That you entertain just sentiments of the importance of the conquests made this war by the British arms, at the expence of much blood and treasure; and that you will, to the utmost of your power and abilities, oppose all attempts for giving up such places as may tend to lessen our present security, or by restoring the naval power of France, render us subject to fresh hostilities from that natural enemy; particularly, that the sole and exclusive right of our acquisitions in North America and the fisheries be preserved to us." Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 86.

^g See Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 93.

in the most malignant spirit of virulence, and containing the most atrocious, and even treasonable suggestions, were profusely circulated.

The negotiation was proceeding at this time with a rapidity and harmony which promised ultimate success. By prudently dismissing from consideration all matters relating to Germany, which did not immediately affect the interests of the contracting powers, much of the jealousy prevalent during the late treaty was dispelled, and the progress of accommodation facilitated. The greatest obstacle to its completion arose from the triumphs of the British arms, which inflamed the pride and cupidity of the people, and, by making the situation of the enemy appear more desperate, encouraged them to insist on retaining more than justice or sound policy required. The ministry were by these means reduced to an awkward dilemma: if they pretended to retain their recent acquisitions, they could not hope for a peace, but merely for an insincere and sullen truce; if they gave them up, not only the efforts of the preceding administration, but their own exertions, and the expences of the current year, would be alleged as a crime.

Preliminary articles were at length signed. In the examination of these it would be easy to prove, from the course of succeeding events, that the British ministry retained too great a portion of their conquests; but it is most candid to survey the transaction as it must have appeared at the time, and to judge of the peace-makers by the actual knowledge they might possess, and on which they could safely and consistently act, without abandoning themselves to speculation, and pursuing measures of contingent and remote advantage. It may, however, be proper to premise, that, independently of the common motives of humanity, which ought never to lose their influence in the

CHAP.
V.

1762.

Progress of
the treaty
for Peace.

3d Nov.
Preliminary
articles signed.

C H A P.

V.

1762.

affairs of nations; independently of fiscal considerations, which weighed with great force at that period; the want of men began to be severely felt. The state of Europe prevented the engaging of foreign mercenaries in the separate cause of Britain; and the numerous expeditions in which the military and naval force of the country was diffused, exhausted the strength of the nation. The bounties to recruits were grown to an unexampled height, and it was supposed that neither interest nor compulsion could have procured men for another extensive expedition. The unhealthy situations in which the soldiers and sailors were placed by the progress of hostile operations, demanded continual supplies; every fresh conquest increased the evil, and far from producing means to defray, augmented the expences of the war, and proved disadvantageous and burthensome. To retain too great a portion of these conquests would have perpetuated the evil, and finished in peace the depopulation begun by war.

Examina-
tion of the
restitutions.
In Europe.

In Europe there was not much to arrange^h. Minorcá was restored, together with all countries belonging to the Elector of Hanover, the Landgrave of Hesse, the Duke of Brunswick, and the Count de la Lippe. Cleves, Wesel, Gueldres, and all the territories belonging to the King of Prussia, were to be evacuated, and the fortifications of Dunkirk demolished. The troops of France and Spain were to retire from all places which they occupied in Europe belonging to the King of Portugal. Great Britain agreed to restore Belleisle.ⁱ

Several objections were urged against this arrangement. It was alleged that Belleisle was more than equivalent to Minorca; but the fullest

^h This examination of restitutions is founded on the articles of the Definitive Treaty.

ⁱ See Definitive Treaty, articles 8, 12, 13, 14, 15, 21.

answer to this was given in the former negotiation, when the French minister said, "Keep Belleisle" then, and we will retain Minorca^k." Some objections were taken to the dereliction of the King of Prussia's interests; but no complaint could be more destitute of foundation. The reduction of his opponents, and the auspicious events of the campaign, had rendered him an object of terror rather than pity, and the balance of power was now endangered by his preponderance, much more than by any efforts towards his political annihilation. Applying to Prussia the observation made by Mr. Pitt in the debate on the supply to Portugal, the minister might have said, "We did not mean to bear Prussia on our shoulders, but only to set him on his legs, and put a sword in his hand^l." This was now effectually performed, and if, as Lord Bute was afterwards reported to have suggested, the countries evacuated were to be *scrambled* for, no power but Prussia could derive advantage from the *scramble*.^m

In Asia the enemy had little to relinquish; it remained therefore only to fix on such cessions as might effectually establish the peace and security of India. Great Britain stipulated to restore the factories which France possessed on the coast of Coromandel, Orixa, and Malabar, and in Bengal, at the beginning of the year 1749; and the French King renounced all pretensions to conquests made since that period. He further agreed to give up Nattal and Tapanouly in the island of Sumatra, and to acknowledge Mahommed Ali Khan, Nabob of the Carnatic, and Salabat Sing, lawful Subah of the Decan. As Luconia was not expressly mentioned in the treaty, it was understood to be relinquished.ⁿ

In Asia.

^k See Historical Memoir of the Court of France, No. xxii.

^l See Debret's Debates, vol. iv. p. 94.

^m Life of Lord Chatham, vol. i. p. 401. n.

ⁿ See Definitive Treaty, articles 11 and 23.

CHAP.

V.

1762.

If the scale of compensation alone should be considered, the enemy had much the advantage in this part of the treaty; but if that principle had been rigidly adhered to, no treaty could have taken place; on the contrary, they must in general have received such terms as Great Britain chose to impose; but if the real welfare and prosperity of the British Empire alone was in contemplation, that was abundantly and sagaciously provided for. The assumption of the entire power and commerce of India was not yet within the reach of Great Britain: to maintain the possessions she held before the war, with the influence which success enabled her to assume over the native powers, was all that could reasonably be demanded; and this was amply secured.

In Africa.

Africa presented few objects of contention, and these were amicably and easily adjusted; Great Britain, in pursuance of the proposal made by France in the negotiation of last year^o, retained the factories and rivers of Senegal, and gave up Goree.^p

On this subject it has been remarked, that Lord Bute ceded more than Mr. Pitt would have agreed to; and that Goree ought to have been retained, since France had declared that the one was essentially connected with the other. But in fact neither of them was very desirable, except as a source of commerce. Of the African trade, Great Britain had sufficient; and by the possession of Senegal, was enabled so to impede the effectual prosecution of it by the French, that from Goree, and all their other territories in Africa, they did not afterward obtain annually more than three or four hundred slaves.^q

In America.

America, the primary cause of the war, and the great scene of conquest, afforded the most

^o See the Historical Memorial of France, No. xvii.

^p See Definitive Treaty, article 10.

^q Raynal's History of the East and West Indies, vol. v. p. 229.

ample grounds of cession, restitution, and discussion. These objects may be divided into three heads: the Continent, the West India Islands, and the Fisheries. C H A P.
V.
1762.

On the continent, France, after unequivocally resigning all pretensions to Nova Scotia, or Acadia, ceded and guarantied to Great Britain, in full right, Canada, with all its dependencies, together with Cape Breton, and all other islands in the gulph and river of St. Lawrence, reserving to the Roman Catholics the right of exercising their religion, and leave to quit the country within a limited time. The boundaries were so clearly and expressly defined, as to prevent the possibility of dispute; and so advantageously, that much of the territory of Louisiana, in which France had hitherto maintained a disputed possession, was relinquished without reserve. Spain yielded Florida, and all other possessions on the continent of North America to the east or to the south-east of the river Mississippi^r, and thus the British empire was consolidated in this quarter of the globe.

France and Spain received compensation for these cessions in the West India Islands, where Great Britain restored Guadaloupe, Marie-Galante, Desirade, Martinique, and St. Lucie; retaining Grenada and the Grenadines, St. Vincent's, Dominica, and Tobago. To Spain, Great Britain ceded all the territory conquered in the Island of Cuba, with the fortress of the Havannah, and all other fortresses in the Island.^s

Against these articles many objections were raised: It was alleged that, although the cessions on the continent were ample and honourable, yet the benefits to be derived from them were remote

^r See Definitive Treaty, articles 4, 7, 20.

^s Idem, articles 8, 9, 19.

C H A P.

V.

1762.

and contingent, the commerce scanty, and the return distant; that as an indemnity for the expences of the war, Martinique, Guadaloupe, St. Lucie, or some other important island, should have been preserved, which would have opened a valuable and ample source of commerce, and contributed, by a rapid circulation, to give energy to trade and vigour to industry. It was asserted, that by permitting France to resume these possessions, we afforded her means of speedily repairing all the losses occasioned by the war, and of restoring her trade and marine in all their former splendour. These arguments are, in part, true, but the application of them erroneous: if generally adopted, they would reduce war between nations to mere piracy; the pretence that what had been acquired would be advantageous either to the conqueror or the enemy, could never be wanting; peace could only be hoped from unconditional submission, and war must ever be continued to extermination. It is even doubtful whether permanent advantages would accrue to Great Britain from the possession of these colonies: those which were retained languished for want of cultivation, and became the causes of litigation between the sovereign and the subject, rather than productive of immediate benefit to the country^t. The system pursued by some merchants and proprietors of land, since the capture of Guadaloupe, influenced them clamorously to demand the retention of that colony: they had overstocked the market with goods, sold them at a long credit, and made the island, in other respects, an exception to the rule of West India commerce; they had, in fact, so much improved the resources of the colony, that it might perhaps have been advantageous to Great Britain to have

^t See Bryan Edwards' History of the British Colonies in the West Indies, book iii. c. 2 and 3.

maintained the possession^u. But the case was far different with Martinique: the contraband trade with the Spanish coasts was almost entirely lost. The cession of Louisiana and Canada had precluded all hopes of again opening a communication; and the value of the restitution was diminished by the loss of the produce of the Grenades, St. Vincent's, and Dominica, which was formerly brought into their harbours^x. St. Lucie might possibly have produced more advantage; but that was the only neutral island possessed by France, and policy appeared to dictate that the task of keeping the Caribbs in subjection, should in part devolve on them.

With respect to the fishery; the French were permitted to catch and dry fish on part of the coast of Newfoundland, and to fish in the Gulph of St. Lawrence, on condition of not approaching within three leagues of the shore; on the other coast of the Island of Cape Breton, they were suffered to fish at the distance of fifteen leagues from the shore; and the fishery on the coast of Nova Scotia and Acadia, was left on the same footing as in other treaties. The isles of St. Pierre and Miquelon were ceded to France, but expressly to serve as a shelter to fishermen; they covenanting to erect no new buildings, except for the convenience of fishery; and to keep on them a guard of fifty men only, for the police. The King of Spain waved all pretensions to any right existing in himself or the Guipuscoans, or any other of his subjects, to fish in the neighbourhood of Newfoundland.^y

In objecting to these particulars of the treaty, it was assumed as a principle, that this country ought to monopolize all the fisheries, for the purpose of preventing France from ever re-establishing her naval

^u See Raynal's History of the East and West Indies, vol. vi. p. 104.

^x Idem, p. 86.

^y See Definitive Treaty, articles 5, 6, 18.

C H A P.

V.

1762.

power, and of augmenting our own. The want of justice in such an objection is easily perceptible, and its want of true policy is no less certain. The fair end of peace is security and social intercourse : but it is too much to presume that those objects are only attainable by crippling and plundering those with whom we treat : peace is more endangered by the indignant feelings of another nation, excited by severe terms, and by a jealousy of disproportionate aggrandizement, than by the hope which can be entertained of making war with advantage, when the strength of both parties is nearly equal. The concessions in regard to the fisheries had no tendency to increase the naval power of France in any formidable degree : an establishment where fifty soldiers are sufficient for the police, and where the rival nation is restrained from fishing within nine or forty-five miles of the shore, can occasion no well-grounded alarm, or prudent jealousy.

The disputes with Spain respecting prizes, were referred to the British court of admiralty ; and it was agreed that the fortifications erected in the Bay of Honduras should be demolished ; the King of Spain consenting that the British subjects, or their workmen, should not be molested in loading, cutting, and carrying away logwood, but might build and occupy, without interruption, the houses and magazines necessary for them, their families, and effects. ²

Such were the terms of peace procured by the conquests of Great Britain. If the people were ever induced to expect a complete indemnification for the expences of the war, or any considerable diminution of their burthens from the terms of a treaty, they who deceived them were alone responsible for the effects of the delusion. War should never be protracted a day beyond the period which offers a secure

² See Definitive Treaty, articles 16, 17.

and honourable peace; for conquest can no more restore the funds dissipated by war, than peace can give life to those who have fallen victims in the contest.

C H A P.
V.
1762.

The peace of 1762 was wise and just, because it so clearly ascertained points in dispute, as to leave no ground for future litigation; because it destroyed every pretence for charging the British nation with rapacity, and an overbearing spirit; and because the moderation of the terms tended to obviate every ungracious sentiment which long and successful war might have generated in the bosoms of our opponents. With all the advantages gained by Great Britain, more extensive cessions might, doubtless, have been obtained from France and Spain; but in every view of the subject, the conditions seem to have been judiciously and prudently arranged, and the termination of the contest was no less advantageous than honourable to Great Britain.^a

When Parliament assembled, the King, in his speech, adverted to the circumstances of the war during the last year, and spoke with becoming animation in praise of the glorious achievements of his forces by sea and land. He bore honourable testimony to the unwearied perseverance and unparalleled bravery of the officers and privates in the military, as well as naval service; and said, that next to the assistance of Almighty God, it was owing to their conduct and courage that the enemy had been brought to accept of terms, which, he hoped, would give entire satisfaction. His Majesty concluded by observing, that as we could never have carried on this extensive war without the greatest union at home; the same union would be necessary, in order to make the best use of the advantages acquired at the peace, and lay the foundation of that economy,

25th Nov.
Meeting of
Parliament.

^a For some judicious observations on this peace, see Chalmers's Estimate, p. 141, to 143, Edit. 1804.

C H A P.

V.

1762.

29th.

Prelimina-
ries of peace
discussed.

9th Dec.

which could alone relieve the nation from the heavy burthens brought on by a long and expensive contest.

The preliminaries of peace were laid before both houses; but the opposition was not proportioned, either in ability or numbers, to the expectation which had been raised. In the House of Peers, on the motion for an address, many objections were made, and some severe reflections thrown out against the Earl of Bute, with appearances of heat and animosity. That nobleman defended his own conduct with temper and decorum, in a well-connected speech, delivered with great propriety, to the surprize of many, who did not think him so well qualified in the art and faculty of elocution. He gave a detail of the negotiation, and not only avowed himself a warm promoter of the peace, but even expressed a desire that his having contributed to the cessation of hostilities should be engraved on his tomb. He was seconded by the Earl of Halifax, and supported by a great majority.^b

9th Dec.

In the House of Commons, Mr. Fox principally defended peace; and Mr. Pitt, though in a state of extreme pain and weakness from the gout, attended to lay before Parliament his objections to the preliminaries. His speech lasted three hours and forty minutes; it embraced every topic of objection, and was expressed in glowing language. He declared, although he was at that instant suffering under the most excruciating torture, yet he determined, at the hazard of his life, to attend this day, to raise up his voice, his hand,

^b Smollet's Complete History of England, vol. xvi. p. 161. No traces of this debate are preserved in Debre'tt's Collection. Lord Bute did not often speak in Parliament: his delivery was very slow and solemn: in allusion to which Charles Townsend, during a speech which Lord Bute made on the subject of the cyder tax, humorously exclaimed, "minute guns."

and his arm, against the preliminary articles of a treaty, which obscured all the glories of the war, surrendered the dearest interests of the nation, and sacrificed the public faith, by abandoning our allies. He first challenged the ministry to compare the present treaty with the terms he could have obtained from Bussy; but that producing no reply, he proceeded to analyze every part of the stipulations, which he stigmatised, in general, with unqualified censure. The only particulars which met his approbation were the dereliction of North America by the French, and the restitution of Minorca. He expatiated at great length on the German connexion; and affirmed, that the desertion of the King of Prussia, the most magnanimous ally this country ever had, was insidious, tricking, base, and treacherous. In conclusion, he said the terms of the proposed treaty met his most hearty disapprobation; he saw in them the seeds of a future war. The peace was insecure, because it restored the enemy to her former greatness: the peace was inadequate, because the places retained were no equivalent for those surrendered.

These observations made great impression, and were productive of more general effect from the circumstances under which they were delivered. Mr. Pitt was so feeble at the beginning of his harangue that he was supported by two of his friends; during its progress, his pain increasing, he was allowed the unprecedented indulgence of delivering his sentiments sitting^c: toward the conclusion his strength entirely failed, his voice became indistinct, and he was obliged to omit the remarks which he was prepared to make on the articles relating to Spain.

^c See Hatsell's Precedents, vol. ii. p. 101.

CHAP.

V.

1762.

The arguments of Mr. Pitt were combated by general considerations of policy, and discussions of the value of the ceded conquests; which, it was truly affirmed, was greatly diminished by the privation of those retained. On a division, the motion for the address was carried by a great majority.^d

No other business of importance was brought before Parliament till after the recess.

21st.
Definitive
treaty sign-
ed.
1st Dec.
7th.
10th Feb.
1763.

In consequence of the execution of the preliminaries, a cessation of arms had been proclaimed, and passports were issued for merchants desiring to trade to any part of France. The definitive treaty was, in due time, ratified, and peace established.^e

The other
powers
make peace.

When the belligerent powers on the continent saw Great Britain and France seriously disposed to effect a pacification, they became convinced of the propriety of desisting from further operations. A proposal of the Imperial Court for a congress was readily acceded to by the King of Prussia. It was held at Hubertsburg; and, after some previous discussions, a treaty was arranged between Austria, Prussia, Saxony, and Poland, which re-

31st Dec.
1762.

^d 319 to 65.

^e Much of the opposition which this treaty encountered in Parliament was the mere result of party spirit; as I am informed from indubitable authority, that several eminent statesmen were known to express high approbation of it in private, although they decried it in public. The terms were, on the whole, more judicious, and really more advantageous, than those which, in the preceding year, were demanded by Mr. Pitt. The opinion of an individual, however eminent, cannot decide such an extensive question; but the following anecdote, related by Wood, in his Preface to the Essay on the Original Genius and Writings of Homer, is deserving of attention. "Being directed to wait on Lord Grenville," he says, "a few days before he died, with the preliminary articles of the Treaty of Paris, I found him so languid, that I proposed postponing my business for another time; but he insisted that I should stay, saying, it could not prolong his life to neglect his duty. He then desired to hear the treaty read, to which he listened with great attention, and recovered spirits enough to declare the approbation of a dying statesman. (I use his own words,) on the most glorious war, and the most honourable peace, this nation ever saw."

stored the peace of Europe. By this compact, few points of great importance were regulated, and no extension of territory was acquired by any of the contracting parties.^f

C H A P.
V.
1762.
15th Feb.
1763.

^f Œuvres du Roi de Prusse, vol. iv. p. 139. 149.

CHAPTER THE SIXTH.

1763.

Formation of opposition. — Proceedings in Parliament. — Cyder tax. — Petitions of the city of London — and other places. — Relief granted to the Americans. — Resignation of Lord Bute. — His character. — Virulence of political publications. — The North Briton. — General warrants issued. — Mr. Wilkes arrested and committed to the Tower. — Proceedings thereon. — He is discharged — and deprived of his commission. — Lord Temple dismissed. — Mr. Wilkes's intemperate proceedings. — Death of Lord Egremont. — Negotiation with Mr. Pitt. — Duke of Bedford's ministry. — Mr. Wilkes publishes sundry libels — and goes to France.

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

Formation
of opposi-
tion.

THE inefficient resistance made to the addresses on peace, shewed plainly that, without general concord, the various parties disposed to thwart the measures of government would be frustrated in every attempt. Some still entertaining hopes of regaining a share of power by not displaying an open opposition to the ministers, when the debate was expected, feigned sickness, quitted the metropolis, or absented themselves from the house without assigning a reason^a. It was therefore necessary to unite all the discordant members of the minority by a general coalition, if they hoped to make an effectual attack on the power of Lord Bute. The effect of the objections to the peace promised no inconsiderable success: the counties of York and Surrey refused to present addresses; and it was said that those which were sent from all quarters of the kingdom

^a History of the late Minority, p. 83.

were not procured without much address and great difficulty.^b C H A P.
VI.

The coalition was consolidated at the house of the Duke of Newcastle^c; and their resistance of every effort to divide them, convinced the minister that their union would, in time, be fatal to his ascendancy. 1763,
March.

Parliament had resumed its sittings before this coalition was formed; but no business of importance claimed their attention, till the supplies for the current year were submitted to the House of Commons. The sum to be raised by loan was three millions and a half. In this moderate financial exertion the ministry were exposed to virulent censure. It was alleged that they privately disposed of the loan, which in a few days rose to eleven per cent. premium; and thus, at the expence of the public, gratified their own creatures with benefits to the amount of three hundred and fifty thousand pounds^d. General objections, however, would have produced little effect beyond the passing moment, had not a more specious object of attack presented itself in one of the modes of supply: this was the act for imposing a tax on perry and cyder. 20th Jan.
Meeting of
Parliament.

8th Mar.

The minister at first intended to lay a duty of ten shillings per hogshead, on the liquor sold by retail, confining the tax to the victualler: the next project was to lay the same assessment on the first buyer^e. Neither of these proposals was agree- Cyder tax.

^a The city of London presented a tardy and reluctant address (May 12th), but the Lord Mayor did not attend with it at St. James's, and the bells of several parishes were muffled during the procession.

^b The party is stated to have consisted of the following persons: the Dukes of Devonshire, Bolton, and Portland; Marquis of Rockingham; Earls Temple, Cornwallis, Albemarle, Ashburnham, Hardwicke, and Besborough; Lords Spencer, Sondes, Grantham, and Villiers; Mr. Pitt, Mr. J. Grenville, and Sir George Savile. History of the late Minority, p. 89 to 93.

^c See Mr. Legge's speeches in the Debates, North Briton. History of the late Minority, p. 107.

^d Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 131.

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

able to the country gentlemen, and therefore the mode was altered to an imposition of four shillings per hogshead on the grower; and the regulations of the excise were extended to the collection of this duty.

Objections.

Against this system it was not difficult to raise a loud and diffusive clamour. The same arguments and efforts which in 1733 had nearly driven Walpole from the helm, could not fail of being again employed. In the House of Commons Mr. Pitt, as the leader of opposition, detailed the accustomed topics, inveighed against the admission of excise officers into private dwellings, and adverting to the excellent maxim that every man's house is his castle, deprecated the extension of excise laws to individuals, who, by their birth, education, and professions, were entirely distinct from the trader. A petition was presented from the city of London, but without effect^f, and the bill finally passed. In the Lords it met with equal opposition; forty-nine peers divided against it, and two protests, each signed by three peers, were entered on the journals. These protests were couched in strong terms; and the transaction is rendered more remarkable from the unprecedented fact, that the House of Lords divided on a money bill.

It was a capital error in Lord Bute's administration, to persevere in a measure which gave so much dissatisfaction, and afforded easy means of extending the influence of opposition. Not the city of London alone, but those of Exeter and Worcester, the counties of Devon and Hereford, and several other towns and places, instructed their representatives to resist the tax; sent letters of thanks to those who had distinguished themselves in opposition; formed associations, and even entered into

^f Not only to the Commons, but to the Lords, and the Throne.

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

combinations, to let their apples rot under the trees, rather than make them into cyder, subject to such impositions. In a word, no public measure since the excise act proposed by Sir Robert Walpole, had occasioned so great a ferment in the nation. Prudence should have dictated to Lord Bute an imitation of Walpole; he saw he could neither stem the popular torrent, nor mitigate its fury, and should have withdrawn himself from its effects, by renouncing the obnoxious measure.^g

Besides the determined efforts of a preconcerted opposition, and the general invectives against the extension of the excise laws, many specious reasonings were adduced against the cyder tax. It was said to be enormous in amount, and unequal in application. It was computed to equal the rent of the land from which it arose; and the occupier, being obliged to pay the whole sum within six weeks from the time of making the cyder, remained exposed, without allowance or drawback, to all the loss arising from those accidents to which so hazardous a commodity is subject. To prove the inequality of the tax, it was alleged that all the different sorts of cyder were subject to the same imposition: of these there were computed to be four; the worst of which was made from the windfalls, and could only be serviceable for family consumption; this, and the other three sorts, varying in value from eight to fifty shillings a hogshead, were taxed alike, by which means the common drink of the day-labourer was subject to as heavy a charge as the luxurious beverage of men of ample fortunes. The assertion that it is impossible to discriminate the classes of cyder, so as to impose a proportionate duty, was decried as displaying more strongly the impolicy of the tax.^h

Observations.

^g See Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, chap. 41.

^h See case of the county of Devon, published by the direction of the committee.

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

14th Mar.

Relief to
the Ame-
ricans.19th April.
Prorogation.Change of
ministry.

5th April.

Observa-
tions on
Lord Bute's
resignation.

In this session, in consequence of a message from the King, the House of Commons voted a compensation to the subjects of North America, for expences incurred during the war, in levying, clothing, and paying troops raised by the respective provincesⁱ. The public business being early dispatched, Parliament was prorogued.

Soon after the passing of the cyder tax, when Lord Bute's friends and enemies considered him so permanently fixed in office, that the long labours of a well-united opposition would be requisite for his expulsion, he astonished the public by a sudden resignation. Sir Francis Dashwood followed his example. Mr. Grenville succeeded them both as first lord of the treasury, and chancellor of the exchequer; and notice was given to the foreign ministers, that His Majesty had confided the executive powers of government to Mr. Grenville, Lord Halifax, and Lord Egremont. A place in the cabinet was offered to Mr. Pitt, but he insisted on such extravagant terms, that the King could not in honour comply: he demanded the removal of every person who had in any manner been engaged in making the peace; and even required that the terms of the treaty should be meliorated. The King answered, he would never withdraw his protection from those whose conduct he approved, or reprobate measures which he had sanctioned with his approbation.^k

The sudden termination of Lord Bute's ministerial career, and his dereliction of that power which it was thought his chief aim to acquire, and his principal labour to extend, gave rise to various contradictory speculations. By some it was attributed to fear of impeachment, augmented by the prospect of the Duke of Bedford's return from Paris,

ⁱ By an act passed this session, John Harrison received a reward of 5,000*l.* for his ingenious labours towards the discovery of the longitude.

^k From private information.

and the expectations of some important disclosures¹. Some weakly imagined that the persevering attacks of the North Briton drove him from the helm^m; and others believed that he still retained his power, though he did not openly appear to exercise it. The reasons assigned by a writer, who probably did not make his statement without the privity of Lord Bute, are these: "His resignation is in consequence of a resolution early taken, and invariably adhered to by this extraordinary person; who, seeing the nation involved in a consuming war, which, for various reasons, no minister but himself would put an end to, thought himself called upon, not only as the friend of his sovereign, but as the friend of his country, to undertake the difficult and dangerous task of making peace: this he happily accomplished, and made a peace which speaks for itself. In the prosecution of this great work his life has been often threatened, and sometimes in danger from an exasperated multitude": his character has been attacked with a virulence, till now unknown: his relations, his friends, the place of his nativity, have been reviled, and every possible method taken to discredit him with the public, and to ruin him with the King his master. This storm he endured: and persevered with inconceivable constancy, till the peace was ratified, and approved by Parliament, and the business of the session brought to conclusion; then he resigned, leaving the new ministry, supported by a great majority in both

¹ Life of Lord Chatham, vol. i. p. 425.

^m History of the late Minority, p. 127.

ⁿ This assertion was verified in two remarkable instances: the first as he was going to the Lord Mayor's entertainment at Guildhall, when he was attacked by the populace, his carriage broke, and himself very narrowly escaped the stroke of a club; the other, as he was going to the parliament house, when the civil power preserved him. — History of the late Minority, p. 127.

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

“houses, and not obstructed by those prejudices which had been so industriously raised up against him. This opinion of his having early taken a resolution to retire, is confirmed by the mildness of his administration, and his total neglect of the libels against him. He has accordingly retired without place or pension, disdaining to touch those tempting spoils which lay at his feet.”^o

There is too great an appearance of precipitation in Lord Bute's retreat, to sanction these suppositions; even the King was not early apprized of his intention, and from his good opinion of the Earl, lamented that he had lost a friend as well as a minister^p. It is absurd to suppose that fear of impeachment induced him to resign. Fear is a strange motive to assign for yielding up that which constitutes strength, especially when no measures were taken to make that sacrifice a bribe for forbearance. The terms of the peace have already been so amply discussed, that it is unnecessary again to enter into their merits. Another charge, however, was brought against the minister, — that of having received a large sum of money from France^q. After having for some years amused the public, and served as a theme to those declaimers who are always ready to repeat the grossest fables, if of a slanderous tendency, this allegation met its death in the House of Commons: It was brought forward by

^o Letter from ■ Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country, occasioned by ■ late Resignation.

^p From private information.

^q In support of this unfounded allegation, the public attention was often invidiously directed to Lord Bute's extensive buildings at Luton, and in Berkeley Square. Such magnificent undertakings proved his disregard of money, but they were not too great for his ample fortune. By his marriage with Mary, daughter of Edward Wortley Montague, he acquired an estate of 25,000*l.* ■ year, besides 450,000*l.* in the funds. Far from supplying his expences by means of the public money, he raised 90,000*l.* by mortgage, and lived long enough to redeem the estate by frugality. — From private information.

Dr. Musgrave, who, in a long examination, betrayed so large a portion of credulity, with so small a share of judgment, that the House, after a minute investigation, voted his information in the highest degree frivolous, and unworthy of credit.^r

C H A P.
VI.
1763.

It is improbable that Lord Bute, who had patiently endured the most virulent invectives, should be driven from the helm by so vapid a production as the *North Briton*. Mr. Burke properly characterized this weak and malicious series of libels, by calling it a milk and water paper, as much inferior to Junius in rancour and venom, as in strength, wit, and judgment.^s

In fact, the principal cause of his resignation was the want of support in the cabinet. In a private letter to one of his friends, before he retired from the helm, he more fully explained the real motives of his conduct: "Single," he said, "in a cabinet of my own forming; no aid in the House of Lords to support me, except two peers (Lords Denbigh and Pomfret); both the Secretaries of State silent, and the Lord Chief Justice, whom I myself brought into office, voting for me, yet speaking against me; the ground I tread upon is so hollow, that I am afraid, not only of falling myself, but of involving my Royal Master in my ruin.—It is time for me to retire!"^t

The continuance of the ex-minister's secret influence in the closet, for a considerable period, has been so repeatedly and confidently asserted, that to doubt it would seem rashness; yet, perhaps, if we except the negotiations for ministerial changes soon after his resignation, in which he was occasionally the medium to communicate the King's

^r See Debates, January 29th, 1770.

^s See Debates, 27th November, 1770.

^t From private information.

C H A P. intentions, no report was ever less consonant to
 VI. truth; for it was his constant and repeated com-
 1763. plaint to his intimate friends, both on his travels
 and at home, that he was neglected by his sovereign.
 This avowal, from a man so cautious as Lord Bute,
 outweighs all the vague assertions of those who
 maintained the existence of a mysterious agency,
 and proves that the loss of his influence had sunk
 deep in his mind."

Lord Bute's short administration was rendered additionally unpleasant by his own errors. His undertaking to make peace when the nation was eager for continuing the war, and his offending all those who, by popularity or family connexion, were enabled to co-operate effectually in his views, were rash, though laudable, exertions: and his danger was augmented by his negligence of public applause, and ignorance of the means by which it might be acquired. He was advised to condemn the clamours of the city, for on the least threat of the King's displeasure, those who were then at his throat would soon be at his feet*; and though he neither esteemed nor respected the man who gave this counsel, the tenor of it seems agreeable to his mode of thinking; the consequence was, that the city connected with the admiration of Mr. Pitt a factious and overbearing spirit of resistance to the exertions of government. Even the virtues of Lord Bute were not calculated to insure respect or conciliate affection. It is said of him, "No man could complain, during his administration, of a promise broken, or of hopes given and not fulfilled. No inferior person in any department where he had served, who did not passionately regret the loss of so easy, so kind a supe-

* From private information. See also Burke's *Thoughts on the Cause of the present Discontents*, Works, 4to. v. i. p. 441.

■ Letter from Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute, 8th October, 1761.

“rior’.” In diminution of this eulogium, it is to be remarked that Lord Bute made no promises, and gave no hopes, except to persons whose devotion he meant to secure; and that under him, the pernicious precedent was introduced, of removing every dependent of government, even to the lowest clerks in the public offices, to introduce others of his own nomination². This proceeding created many enemies, and if it gave him some claims to gratitude, those claims were too slight and precariously founded to be much relied on. His patronage of literature and the arts was liberal and honourable: with what judgment it was bestowed, is not the province of history to discuss; but it does not appear open to the imputation of corrupt or sinister motives.^a

CHAP.
VI.
1763.

The character of this minister, as connected with his resignation, is well pourtrayed by a contemporary writer. “The support of the prince, the acquiescence of the people, the complaisance of parliament, and the baffled efforts of his rival, seemed now to have rivetted and established the Earl of Bute as a permanent minister. A feeble clamour without doors must have soon died away with the hopes of forcing his Lordship from his high department. To the astonishment of the world, to the certain ruin of his character as a politician, he suddenly resigned. The surprise of his enemies prevented them from taking advantage of the consternation among his friends. The former abused him: the latter blamed: both despised his conduct.

“This conduct, however, arose more from the

^y Letter from a Gentleman in Town to his Friend in the Country, p. 11.

^z Serious Considerations on the Measures of the Present Administration, by Dr. Butler, Bishop of Hereford, p. 10. The same fact is asserted in innumerable other publications.

^a Lord Bute’s private virtues and social qualities are not descanted on, they do not form the subject of history; but they were numerous and estimable.

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

“ character and disposition of the man, than from
 “ any public opposition to his measures, or private
 “ circumstances of intimidation. Though born with
 “ good parts, and a good heart, he was possessed of
 “ qualities which sullied the one, and made the
 “ other doubtful in the eyes of the superficial and
 “ prejudiced. Surrounded with men whose weak-
 “ ness was known to the world, his judgment of
 “ mankind became suspected; and it was difficult
 “ to reconcile benevolence of temper, with a pride
 “ that rendered him inaccessible. Attached by
 “ nature to a retired manner of life, he contracted
 “ a shyness of disposition, which ought never to be
 “ carried into the highest department of the state.
 “ Habit established the companions of the obscure
 “ part of his life so firmly in his mind, that he
 “ sacrificed his reputation with others, to an ap-
 “ pearance of an inattention to them. They were,
 “ however, his companions, but not his counsellors:
 “ he loved them for their good nature; his good
 “ sense forced him to despise their understand-
 “ ings. Intelligent, penetrating, and shrewd, he
 “ studied the theory of government with success;
 “ circumstances attending his youth, and a habit of
 “ retirement, circumscribed his knowledge in the
 “ practice. Mistaking the attention paid to his office
 “ and situation for actual attachment to his person,
 “ he was deceived by the designing; and he looked
 “ upon political desertion as a singular instance of
 “ depravity in the age. The noise and clamours of
 “ an interested few he took for the voice of the
 “ public; and thinking he had deserved well of the
 “ nation, he was offended at its ingratitude. He
 “ retired with chagrin; and his enemies owed the
 “ victory, which they ascribed to their own spirit
 “ and conduct, to an adventitious mistake in his
 “ mind.”^b

^b Political Conduct of the Earl of Chatham, p. 13.

Mr. Grenville, who was at the head of the new administration, was son of George Grenville, esquire, of Wootton, in the county of Bucks, by Esther, sister of Lord Cobham. He was bred to the law; and in 1741 was initiated in parliamentary and official business. He was successively appointed lord of the treasury and admiralty, and treasurer of the navy, under George II., and secretary of state, and first lord of the treasury, in the present reign. To a masculine understanding, and resolute mind, he joined an unwearied application, and considered business not as duty which he was to fulfil, but a pleasure he was to enjoy. He won his way to power through the laborious gradations of public service; and secured to himself a well-earned rank in parliament, by a thorough knowledge of its constitution, and a perfect practice in all its affairs^c. A constant attention to the forms of business, rendered him methodical in debate; but, although he was not distinguished by the graces of eloquence, his speeches were replete with sound knowledge, and displayed a thorough acquaintance with his subject. His political life was chequered by diversities of connexion and opposition: he came into office under the auspices of Lord Cobham, and continued under the standard of his brother, Earl Temple, till the beginning of the present reign. Jealousy of his brother-in-law, Mr. Pitt, and other concurrent circumstances, broke the family phalanx; and although Mr. Grenville afterward coalesced with Lord Temple, he was never reconciled to Mr. Pitt.

Lord Bute is accused of having begun a paper war, by hiring writers to support his administration and vilify his opponents^d. There is some truth in the suggestion that certain writers were liberally, or rather extravagantly, paid for their exertions in behalf of government^e; but Lord Bute did not

CHAP.

VI.

1763.

Character of
Mr. Gren-
ville.

Virulence
of political
publica-
tion

^c Burke's Works, 4to. vol. i. p. 541. ^d History of the late Minority, p. 77.

^e This does not seem to have been a measure of Lord Bute's own suggestion, but to have flowed principally from Lord Melcombe. See his Diary, p. 419. 245. In

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

Publica-
tion of the
North Bri-
ton.

23d April.

26th.
General
Warrant
issued.

begin the paper war, and the authors on his side did not equal their opponents in scurrility. If the practice of employing men of letters to defend the proceedings of government has any justification, it must be found in the circumstances of the times, when, from an extreme strictness of regulation, no accounts of the debates in either house were given to the public, and their chief information on the topics agitated in parliament, was derived from the lords' protests, and such pamphlets as detailed, in a partial and equivocal manner, the arguments used by the members.

However it might originate, the licentiousness of the press now became unbounded, and disgraceful to the nation, and it was thought necessary to attempt restraining this intolerable torrent of calumny. The late minister endured, with great equanimity and forbearance, the abuse to which he was subjected, and did not use the lash of power against a man, who had openly avowed his resolution, "to try how far it was practicable to carry the licentiousness of writing, under pretext of exercising the liberty of the press^f." This individual was John Wilkes, member of parliament for Aylesbury, the avowed author of the *North Briton*, a periodical paper, in which every public measure was arraigned and ridiculed with coarse invective and scurrilous ribaldry. This licence was carried to such an extent in the observations on the King's speech at the prorogation of parliament, published in the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton*, that it was judged expedient to issue a warrant from the secretary of state's office, requiring four messengers in ordinary to make strict search for the authors, printers and publishers of the above seditious and treasonable production, to apprehend and seize them, together with their papers, and bring

■ letter to Lord Bute, dated 8th October, 1761, Lord Melcombe says, "Mr. Pitt may think, by going out upon a spirited pretence, to turn the attention and dissatisfaction of the public on those, who, at a ruinous expence, are to carry on his wild measures, and whom they have been taught to dislike, by a total abandonment of the press to him and his creatures, which I humbly hope you will think proper to employ better."

^f Smollet's Complete History of England, vol. xvi. p. 212.

them before the secretary of state. Under this authority, one Leach, a printer, to whom the messengers had been erroneously directed, was apprehended, but discharged. Kearsley, the avowed publisher, was next taken into custody, and voluntarily acknowledged, before lord Halifax, the secretary of state, that one Balfe was the printer, and Mr. Wilkes the author of the paper. Balfe confirmed the same facts; and, the crown-lawyers being of opinion that the publication of a libel was a breach of the peace, and therefore not a case of privilege, the messengers were directed, by virtue of the same warrant, to bring Mr. Wilkes before the secretary of state. The officers were instructed to execute their warrant the same night; but Mr. Wilkes objecting to the general terms in which it was worded, and threatening the messengers with his vengeance, if they offered violence to his person at that unseasonable time, they desisted till next morning; when he was arrested, and, having in vain demanded a copy of the writ, carried before Lord Halifax.

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

29th.

30th April,
Wilkes ar-
rested.

When Mr. Wilkes was first apprehended, he received a visit from Lord Temple, who by his request applied to the court of Common Pleas for a writ of habeas corpus. The motion was granted; but before the writ could be prepared, Mr. Wilkes, having refused to answer questions, was committed to the Tower, detained in close custody, and admittance refused to his friends, and even his counsel and solicitor.⁵

Habeas
Corpus
moved for.

Wilkes
committed
to the
Tower.

These were the circumstances which brought under public discussion one of the most important points, relative to the liberty of the subject, agitated since the Revolution; namely, the legality of General Warrants. The importance of the object communicated itself to the parties concerned in the transaction, and made some parts of their conduct, which would otherwise have escaped observation, worthy

Observa-
tions.

⁵ Mr. Wilkes's Letter to the Duke of Grafton, Dec. 12, 1766.

C H A P.

VI.

1768.

of particular attention. The ministry could not justly incur blame for exerting the power with which they were invested, in punishing a libel so audacious as the forty-fifth number of the *North Briton* : it became a very distinct matter from personal forbearance, to tolerate the circulation of a writing, in which the King was accused of having uttered a lie from the throne. Of such a crime it is no extenuation to distinguish (as Mr. Wilkes afterwards did ^h, and in fact did in the very publication) between the King and his minister : the treasonable suggestion is not mitigated by supposing the King the mere engine through which the minister deludes the people. It is a point of propriety and delicacy, in the course of parliamentary debate, when an address to the throne is under discussion, to shew respect to the King, by considering his speech as the production of the minister, in order to take away all appearance of offence from the free manner in which it is canvassed. In such a debate it would be quite correct to dispute the facts contained in the speech, still treating them as the assertions of the minister; but when a public writer, in order to stigmatize the minister, involves the sovereign as an accomplice in a charge so meanly criminal as that of uttering a direct falsehood, the pretence that the speech is considered as that of the minister, is rather in the nature of guilty subterfuge, than of respectful distinction.

With respect to the warrant; common sense, the constitution, and the subsequent decision of the courts, concur in pronouncing it illegal; but the ministry who used it were not liable to censure. It lay before them as a customary process, which had been resorted to, even recently, by the most popular ministers : nor was their attention directed to the warrant itself; but to its effect : the opinion of crown-lawyers was not taken on the extended question, whether a general warrant was legal; but whether

^h See his speech in the court of Common Pleas, 3d May.

Mr. Wilkes' offence was such as justified the use of it, and whether his privilege protected him against its operation.

C H A P.
VI.

1763.

Further proceedings.
3d May.

The first habeas corpus was directed to the messengers, but, not being issued till Mr. Wilkes was out of their custody, was rendered ineffectual, and a new one ordered, directed to the constable of the Tower. In obedience to this writ, Mr. Wilkes was brought before the court: he made a flippant speech, in which he exposed his grievances, and accused the ministry of having recourse to this mode of persecution, because they had failed in their attempt to corrupt him. The court took time to consider of the arguments adduced, and at length the chief justice delivered their joint opinion, that the warrant was not illegal, but that Wilkes was entitled to a discharge, by virtue of his privilege; a benefit which he owed intirely to the gratuitous admission of the counsel for the crown, that he was a member of parliamentⁱ. A prosecution was immediately instituted against him by the attorney general for publishing the North Briton.

6th.
Wilkes discharged.

Lord Temple in these proceedings stood forward the avowed supporter and patron of Mr. Wilkes, and more than shared the popularity resulting from the contest. The King having deprived Mr. Wilkes of his commission as colonel in the Buckinghamshire militia, it was the office of Lord Temple, as lord lieutenant, to announce that resolution; which he did in the most gentle terms, accompanied with assurances of regret, and complimentary testimonials. This behaviour on the part of Lord Temple was so offensive, that he was struck off the list of privy counsellors, and

Conduct of Lord Temple.

Wilkes deprived of his commission.

Lord Temple dismissed.
7th.

ⁱ In delivering judgment on this point, the chief justice used these words: "It remains to be considered, whether Mr. Wilkes ought not to be discharged: the King's counsel have thought fit to admit, that he was a member of the House of Commons, and we are bound to take notice of it. In the case of the seven bishops, the court took notice of their privilege from their description in the warrant: in the present case there is no suit depending; here no writ of privilege can therefore issue, no plea of privilege can be received; it rests, and must rest, on the admission of the counsel for the crown; it is fairly before us upon that admission, and we are bound to determine it." Digest of the Laws concerning Libels, p. 49.

CHAP. dismissed from the lord lieutenancy of Bucking-
 VI. hamshire, which was given to Sir Francis Dash-
 1763. wood, who had recently attained the title of Lord
 Le Despenser.

But although, from an opinion that Mr. Wilkes was improperly treated, Lord Temple supported him with a warmth resulting from conviction, and with vigour sufficient to protect him from suffering under any wanton effort of malevolence, or even under a misconstruction of the law, he did not approve the violence and malignity which characterised his paper, or the national reflections with which it abounded. He advised Mr. Wilkes to remain in a state of dignified resignation, and await the decision of parliament, and the award of the courts of law. This line of conduct^k would have suited Lord Temple in similar circumstances; but the only aim of Mr. Wilkes was to court persecution, for the sake of acquiring popularity. He no sooner obtained his discharge, than he wrote a scurrilous letter to the secretaries of state, asserting that his house had been robbed, and the stolen goods were in their possession. To render this insult the more insupportable, he printed the letter, and distributed several thousand copies. The secretaries of state, instead of treating this desperate effort with merited contempt, returned an answer, which gave Mr. Wilkes an opportunity of appealing to their sense of propriety, for an observance of those laws of decorum which he had so utterly neglected.¹

The cabinet, which had always been considered extremely weak, was still further enfeebled by the death of Lord Egremont, whose great abilities and

Death of
 Lord Egremont.
 21st Aug.

^k It is of the utmost importance to the memory of Lord Temple, to make a strong discrimination between his character, and that of Mr. Wilkes, which is represented in the blackest colours of profligacy, inhumanity, meanness, and venality. See letter to Lord Temple, &c. &c. And it is proper to observe that there is not the least shadow of truth in Mr. Wilkes's allegation, that the ministry persecuted, because they could not corrupt him.

¹ The statement of proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, and the reflections on them, form the subject of some hundreds of pamphlets, and occupy a considerable portion of all the periodical works of the day, from which this narrative has been extracted.

influence gave weight to his measures. Lord Bute, sensible the ministry could not continue, waited on Mr. Pitt, and obtaining a clear statement of his opinions with respect to men and measures, procured for him an interview with the King at Buckingham House. Mr. Pitt's situation was thus rendered extremely delicate: to refuse advice and assistance, when solicited by the King, was impossible; but, as the jealous vigilance of opposition was ever ready to take alarm, a certain degree of publicity was the best means of avoiding suspicion. He went through the Mall in his gouty chair at noon-day, the boot of which (as he said himself) made it as well known, as if his name was written upon it. His Majesty received him most graciously, and, during an audience of three hours, listened to him with great patience and attention. Mr. Pitt descanted on the infirmities of the peace; the things necessary, and hitherto neglected, to improve and preserve it; the state of the nation, both foreign and domestic; and specified the great Whig families who had been driven from His Majesty's service, whom it would be for his interest to restore. The King made no objections to any of these statements, except by saying, that his honour must be preserved; and directed Mr. Pitt to attend him again on the twenty-ninth.

Mr. Pitt well satisfied, from His Majesty's apparent acquiescence, that a cabinet would be formed according to his suggestions, on a Whig basis, repaired, without a moment's delay, to Claremont, and arranged with the Duke of Newcastle the new administration. He also undertook to apprise the Duke of Devonshire, and the Marquis of Rockingham: the Duke of Newcastle was to inform Lord Hardwicke.

The next audience subverted these hopes; for, when Mr. Pitt named his co-adjutors, the King mentioned some persons whom he wished to introduce into the administration, and laid down a plan for a

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

25th.

Negotiation with Mr. Pitt.

27th.

28th Aug.

29th Aug.

C H A P.
VI.

1763.

general arrangement. Mr. Pitt, without circumlocution, told His Majesty that a ministry could not be carried on without the noble families who had supported the revolution government, and other great persons in whose abilities and tried integrity the public confided from experience, and who had weight and credit with the nation. His Majesty suddenly terminated the conference, by saying, "Well, Mr. Pitt, I see (or I fear) this will not do. My honour is concerned, and I must support it."

This remarkable transaction furnished ample materials for animadversion and conjecture. It was supposed by the Earl of Hardwicke, from whose letter the information on this topic is principally derived, that in the day which intervened between Mr. Pitt's first and second audience, some strong effort was made which produced the alteration.

But, with great deference to this opinion, the change of the King's sentiments may be ascribed to other causes. The only person who could be supposed to influence the royal mind was Lord Bute, and he had no motive to adopt such a line of conduct; for in both these conferences, Mr. Pitt expressed no objection to unite with him, and the ministry could not act with cordiality towards one, who had attempted to displace, without consulting them. It is more probable, that at the first interview, the King, transported with Mr. Pitt's rapid and commanding eloquence, overlooked the inevitable tendency of his arrangement,—that of subjecting the throne to the domination of certain powerful families; but in the intermediate day, he had reflected on the subject, and when the second conference took place, although he was willing to assure to Mr. Pitt and his friends a complete ascendancy in the cabinet, by making Lord Temple first lord of the treasury, Lord Hardwicke president of the council, and Mr. Pitt secretary of state, yet he would not submit to the exclusive spirit which induced Mr. Pitt to attempt

filling the whole council-board with one strong, compact, weighty influence. This opposition of principle terminated the discussion, and Mr. Pitt declared that, if examined on oath, he could not tell upon what the negotiation broke off, whether upon any particular point, or upon the general complexion of the whole.^m

C H A P.
VI.
1763.

This treaty having failed, the Duke of Bedford was appointed lord president of the council, Lord Sandwich secretary of state, Lord Egmont was placed at the head of the admiralty, and Mr. Grenville retained his situation of first lord of the treasury and chancellor of the exchequer: this was called the Duke of Bedford's ministry.

2d, 10th
Sept.
Duke of
Bedford's
ministry.

Their career began at an inauspicious moment, when the whole nation seemed replete with jealousy, alarm, and discontent. Mr. Pitt alone could have effectually assuaged the popular irritability; but the King was precluded from benefiting by his popularity.

One great source of uneasiness was, for a while, removed in the person of Mr. Wilkes, who disgraced his character, and forfeited all prospect of support from persons of respectability. After his liberation from the Tower, instead of following the advice of more discerning friends, and acting with the dignity becoming a champion of popular freedom, he adopted a line of conduct equally violent and mean: finding the printers averse to incur the danger of publishing his productions, he established a press in his own house, and distributed proposals for printing by subscription, at the price of one guinea, "The Proceedings of Administration on his Case;" but, to his great disappointment, very few subscriptions were

Wilkes
publishes
sundry li-
bels.

^m See Lord Hardwicke's letter to a near relation (Lord Royston) on the subject of a ministerial negotiation in 1763, printed for Jervis and Debrett, 1785. See also Anatomy of a late Negotiation; and a general abstract of the accounts of this interview, which were given to the public in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1763, p. 451.

C H A P.

VI.

1763.

obtained ^a. He next committed to his press an obscene and blasphemous poem, called “An Essay on Woman;” the title being a parody on that of Pope’s Essay on Man. A sheet was communicated through one of Wilkes’s journeymen printers to Mr. Kidgell, chaplain to Lord March, and was at length laid before the secretaries of state ^o. Meanwhile Mr. Wilkes’s press was employed in a new edition of the first forty-five numbers of the North Briton, with notes and corrections; this measure was also repugnant to the counsel of his friends, as it furnished more certain means of conviction in the prosecution instituted against him. Mr. Wilkes, however, disregarded advice, and having put his work in a state of forwardness, went to pass a few weeks in France. ^p

And goes
to France.

^a History of the late Minority, p. 203.

^o See Kidgell’s Narrative, published by Robson and Wilkie, 1763. It is alleged in mitigation of Mr. Wilkes’s crime, that no more than a dozen copies were printed. History of the late Minority, p. 206.—Answer to Kidgell’s Pamphlet, p. 8.

^p History of the late Minority, p. 211. During his stay in France, Mr. Wilkes was insulted by a Scottish gentleman of the name of Forbes, and was, in order to prevent a duel, put under arrest.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTH.

1763 — 1764.

Meeting of Parliament. — Proceedings respecting Mr. Wilkes. — Riot on burning the North Briton. — Further proceedings in Parliament. — Actions tried against the messenger. — Mr. Wilkes returns to France. — Marriage of the Princess Augusta. — Mr. Wilkes expelled the House of Commons. — Debates on privilege, and on general warrants. — Mr. Wilkes's trial and outlawry. — Supplies. — Resolutions for taxing America. — Prorogation of Parliament. — View of American affairs. — Government of Canada. — Intrigues of the French in Canada. — Indian war. — Regulations for prevention of smuggling. — Conduct of the New England provinces. — Dr. Franklin sent to England as agent. — His character.

MR. WILKES's case was the first object which engaged the attention of Parliament. On the return of the Commons to their own house, after hearing the King's speech, Mr. Grenville anticipated any other motion^a, by stating, that His Majesty having received information that John Wilkes, Esquire, was the author of a most seditious and dangerous libel, published since the last session, had caused him to be apprehended and detained for trial. He then recapitulated the proceedings in the courts below, and laid on the table the libel, with the examinations of the bookseller and printer. An address of thanks was voted, and a majority of the house^b resolved, the paper entitled the North Briton, number forty-five, to be a false, scandalous, and seditious libel, and that it should be burned by the hands of the common hangman.

C H A P.
VII.

1763.
15th Nov.
Meeting of
Parliament.
Proceedings
respecting
Wilkes.

^a The address on the King's speech was moved the 17th, and carried without debate: it contained the congratulations of the House on Her Majesty's safe delivery of a second son, which took place the 16th August.

^b 237 against 111.

CHAP.

VII.

1763.
Wilkes's
complaint of
■ breach of
privilege.

Complaint
against
Wilkes in
the House
of Lords.

16th Nov.
Wilkes's
duel with
Martin.

23d and
24th Nov.
Debates on
his case.

When this motion was disposed of, Mr. Wilkes, premising that in his person the rights of all the Commons of England, and the privileges of Parliament, had been violated, stated the circumstances of his arrest and discharge, and the proceedings against him in the court of King's Bench by subpoena. He requested the judgment of the House on his privilege; declaring, however, that if they decided in his favour, he would wave the advantage, and put himself on a jury of his country. The further consideration of the King's message, and the case of privilege, was adjourned to the twenty-third.

On the same day a complaint was made in the House of Lords of the *Essay on Woman*, which was produced. Lord Sandwich dwelt with great force on the profaneness and obscenity of the production; and Dr. Warburton, Bishop of Gloucester, complained of a breach of privilege, as the author, to render the parody on Pope's *Essay on Man* more complete, had affixed the learned Prelate's name to one of the notes.^c

This unexpected attack exhibited at once to the delinquent the effects of his imprudence, and he gave way to the violence suggested by despair. In the course of debate in the Lower House, Mr. Martin, member for Camelford, who was attacked in some of the early numbers of the *North Briton*, declared the author, whoever he might be, a malignant and infamous coward. Mr. Wilkes sent a letter to Mr. Martin, acknowledging himself the author of the paragraphs complained of; the consequence was ■ meeting in Hyde Park; the parties fought with pistols; and Mr. Wilkes was dangerously wounded.

The question of privilege was debated with great

^c History of the late Minority, p. 233. It has afforded some ground of surprise, and furnished topics of ridicule and censure, that the Earl of Sandwich should stand forward as Mr. Wilkes's principal accuser on this occasion, because Lord Sandwich's conduct was not considered sufficiently moral to render him a fit champion in such a cause.

warmth during two days. On the second, the speaker produced a letter from Mr. Wilkes, who requested the further consideration might be deferred till he was able to attend ; but the House resumed the debate, and finally resolved, " That the privilege of " Parliament does not extend to the case of writing " and publishing seditious libels, nor ought to be " allowed to obstruct the ordinary course of the " laws, in the speedy and effectual prosecution of so " heinous and dangerous an offence^d." The resolutions made on the first day of the session were also confirmed ; and as the concurrence of the lords was deemed of great importance, a conference was desired. No debates on this subject are preserved, except a speech of Mr. Pitt, who vehemently reprobated the facility with which Parliament surrendered its own privileges ; but he carefully impressed on the House, that he was merely delivering a constitutional opinion, and not vindicating either the libel or its author. " With respect to the paper itself," he said, " which gave pretence for this request to surrender " the privileges of Parliament, the House had already " voted it a libel ; he joined in that vote. He con- " demned the whole series of North Britons, as illi- " beral, unmanly, and detestable. He abhorred all " national reflections. The King's subjects were one " people. Whoever divided them, was guilty of sedi- " tion. His Majesty's complaint was well founded ; " it was just ; it was necessary. The author did not " deserve to be ranked among the human species, he " was the blasphemer of his God, and the libeller of " his King. He had no connexion, nor did he asso- " ciate or communicate with any such writer."

The resolutions of the Commons were at the first conference left with the lords, and produced an animated debate. None of the speeches are preserved, except that of Lord Lyttleton, who defended

^d 258 against 133.

C H A P.
VII.

1763.
25th Nov.
In the lords.

the proceeding of the Commons with great ability and manly eloquence. He entered into the history of privilege, and analyzed the powers of the crown and parliament, combating the application of the doctrine of inviolability, in certain cases ; among the most atrocious of which, he placed the dissemination of seditious libels. He particularly insisted on the malignant and dangerous tendency of publications calculated to weaken the connexion between England and Scotland ; and contended, with great force of argument, against the apprehensions entertained of unduly extending the power of the crown, by the decision of the present question. As the offence was bailable, there was no reason to fear that the power vested in the secretary of state could be abused to any dangerous purpose ; on the contrary, both government and liberty were as safe as the imperfection of human policy would allow. Acknowledging the purity of the principles which animated the lords in opposition, he concluded by saying ;
 “ In order to preserve the independence of parliament against any future violation on the part of the crown, it will be necessary to preserve the reputation of parliament in the minds of the people, and the love of it in their hearts. How, my lords, can this be done, if they find it an obstacle to that equal justice which is their birth-right, and their safety ? Upon the whole, I am confident your lordships will, on no account, depart from that maxim, which is the corner-stone of all government, that justice should have its course, without stop or impediment. *Jus, fas, lex, potentissima sint.* This, my lords, is the very soul and essence of freedom. Obstruct this, and you immediately open a door to all violence and confusion ; to all iniquity, and all the cruelties of private revenge ; to the destruction of private peace, the dissolution of public order, and, in the end, to an unlimited and despotic authority, which we must be forced

“ to submit to as a remedy against such intolerable evils. The dominion of law is the dominion of liberty. Privilege against law, in matters of high concernment to the public, is oppression, is tyranny, wheresoever it exists.”

C H A P.
VII.
1763.

The lords concurred in the resolutions of the commons; but a long and spirited protest, signed by seventeen peers, replete with constitutional learning and ingenious argument, was entered on the journals.

Protest.

At a conference, an address to the King was voted; it was expressed in dutiful and affectionate terms; and blamed, with proper asperity, the wanton indignity he had sustained. Mr. Wilkes was also ordered to attend at the bar of the House of Commons, in a week, if his health would permit.

1st Dec.
Address the King.

2d.
Wilkes ordered to attend at the bar.

The execution of that part of the sentence which related to the burning of the North Briton, was committed to the superintendence of Alderman Harley, one of the city members, and a sheriff of London. This operation was rendered extremely difficult and dangerous by the tumultuous disposition of the populace, who, combining the names of Wilkes and Liberty, considered the punishment of the one, a death-blow to the other. The sheriffs and other officers, when assembled at the Royal Exchange to perform their duty, were assailed by a furious mob, pelted with filth and stones, and insulted in the grossest manner. The glass of Harley's chariot was broken by a billet of wood, plucked from the fire, and thrown at his person. Alarmed at this appearance of premeditated violence, he went to the Mansion-house, and apprized the Lord Mayor of the outrage; the executioner followed, and the constables were obliged to retire, after their staves had been broken by the populace. The pieces of the libel were rescued, and carried in triumph to Temple Bar, where a bonfire was made, and a large *jack-boot* committed to the flames.*

3d.
Riot on burning the North Briton.

* In ridicule of *John Earl of Bute*.

C H A P.

VII.

1763.

6th & 7th.
Vote of the
Commons on
the subject.

These proceedings being reported to both houses, they voted that all persons concerned in the riot, their aiders and abettors, were perturbators of the public peace, dangerous to the liberties of the country, and obstructors of national justice. Thanks were voted to the sheriffs, and the King was addressed to give directions that the most effectual methods might be taken for discovering and prosecuting the offenders; one of whom was convicted.

7th.

Proceedings
on Wilkes's
case deferred.

In consequence of the order for the attendance of Mr. Wilkes, an eminent physician and surgeon^f appeared at the bar, and stated that he could not, on account of his health, obey the injunction. The time was then enlarged for a week; at the expiration of which, the same persons again making a similar report, the period was extended beyond the term allotted for the Christmas recess; but to prevent collusion, a physician and surgeon^g named by the House were directed to attend Mr. Wilkes, and report their own opinion on his case on the 19th of January. The discussion of his complaint of a breach of privilege was adjourned to the same day.

Actions
against the
messengers.

Numerous actions had been commenced against the messengers, by persons arrested under the general warrant, to recover damages for false imprisonment. They were all tried in the court of Common Pleas, and verdicts of various amounts recovered. Mr. Wilkes had also brought actions against the two secretaries of state, and against Mr. Wood, under-secretary of state, for injuries sustained on the same occasion. The proceedings against Lord Egremont abated by reason of his death. Lord Halifax, by various exertions of privilege, and at length, by standing out in contempt of the court, procured delay till Mr. Wilkes was outlawed^h. The action

6th.

^f Dr. Brocklesbury and Mr. Graves.

^g Dr. Heberden and Mr. Cæsar Hawkins.

^h In a transaction of this nature, history can hardly be too minute; the means of delay used by Lord Halifax are therefore exactly specified; they appear discre-

against Mr. Wood was tried before a special jury at Guildhall, and after a hearing of fifteen hours, a verdict was given for a thousand pounds damages. Bills of exception were tendered and allowed in this and the causes against the messenger. The Lord Chief Justice, on this occasion, extended his former opinion so far as to declare the warrant unconstitutional, illegal, and absolutely void. "If it be good," he said, "a secretary of state can delegate and depute any one of his messengers, or any, even from the lowest of the people, to take examinations, to commit, or release, and, in fine, to do every act which the highest judicial officers the law knows can do or order. There is no authority in our law books that mentions this kind of warrants, but in express terms condemns them. Upon the maturest consideration, I am bold to say, this warrant is illegal; but I am far from wishing a matter of this consequence should rest solely on my opinion. It may be referred to the Twelve Judges, and there is a still higher court, before which it may be canvassed, and whose determination is final. If these superior jurisdictions should declare my opinion erroneous, I submit as will become me, and kiss the rod; but I must say, I shall always consider it as a rod of iron for the chastisement of the people of Great Britain."

ditable to the cause in which they were employed. *Original was issued, tested the first day of June, and returnable from the first day of the Holy Trinity, in three weeks (19th of June 1763); and the Earl being summoned, cast an essoign, which was adjourned until the 18th of November. Then he availed himself of his privilege, which being at an end, and all the essoigns expired, a distringas was taken out, tested the 9th of May, being the first day of Easter term 1764, returnable from the day of Easter in five weeks (27th of May); the Sheriff returned forty shillings issues. The Earl did not appear: the court directed fifty pounds issues. An alias distringas was taken out, tested the 30th of May, and returnable on the morrow of the Holy Trinity (18th of June); the Sheriff returned his issues. The Earl still refused to appear: the court ordered five hundred pounds issues. A pluries distringas was taken out, tested the first day of Trinity Term (the 22d of June); and returnable in three weeks of the Holy Trinity (the 8th of July). In November following Mr. Wilkes was outlawed; then the Earl appeared and pleaded the outlawry.—History of the late Minority.

C H A P.
VII.

1763.

Frantic at-
tempt to
assassinate
Mr. Wilkes.

9th.

19th.

24th Nov.

29th.

Marriage of
the Princess
Augusta.

1764.

16th Jan.

19th.

Wilkes ex-
pelled.

The judgment respecting the illegality of general warrants, was afterward, on arguing the bills of exceptions, affirmed by Lord Mansfield.ⁱ

Soon after the verdict in Mr. Wilkes's favour, a man called at his house, but being refused admittance, went to a coffee-house in the neighbourhood, and declared that he and ten more were determined "to cut Wilkes off, let the event be what it might." He again applied to see Mr. Wilkes, and was taken into custody, when a new penknife was found in his pocket. A complaint was made in the House of Commons, but his insanity being clearly proved, the House discharged him from further attendance: the Court of King's Bench, however, thought proper to commit him, for want of sureties to keep the peace.^k

Mr. Wilkes refused to admit the visits of the two medical men appointed by Parliament; but in vindication of his own friends called in two others. His case, however, does not seem to have been so dangerous as represented, since, in a few days after the recess, he departed for Paris.

In the course of this session, the King announced to Parliament, by message, a proposal of marriage from the Prince of Brunswick and Lunenburg, to his eldest sister the Princess Augusta; and the sum of eighty thousand pounds was voted for her dowry. The Prince came to England early in the ensuing year, and the marriage was solemnized.

When Parliament met after the recess, the order of the day being read for the attendance of Mr. Wilkes, the Speaker produced a letter from him, inclosing a certificate of one of the French King's physicians, and an army surgeon, importing that from the state of his wound, and its probable consequences,

ⁱ See 3 Burrow, 1762.

^k This man's name was Alexander Dunn. The fact is recorded in every periodical publication.

he could not, without danger, leave Paris. This certificate was not authenticated before a notary public, nor were any other regular means taken to insure its credit in England; and as his whole conduct appeared calculated to baffle and deride the authority of the House, they were perfectly justified in resisting a motion to adjourn the consideration of the charges against him, and in proceeding to an immediate hearing of evidence. The examination occupied the House until three o'clock in the morning; when it was resolved, that number forty-five of the North Briton, which had been voted a seditious libel, contained expressions of the most unexampled insolence and contumely towards His Majesty, the grossest aspersions on both Houses of Parliament, and the most audacious defiance of the authority of the whole legislature; that it had a manifest tendency to alienate the affections of the people from the King; to withdraw them from their obedience to the laws; and to excite them to traitorous insurrections against government. It was further resolved that Mr. Wilkes should be expelled; and a new writ issued for Aylesbury.

20th.

Mr. Wilkes's complaint of a breach of privilege, notwithstanding his expulsion, came on in due course to be debated in the House; and occupied their attention during several days. The chief object of administration was to separate the supposed delinquency of Mr. Wood and Mr. Webb, the under-secretaries of state, against whom complaint was made, from the question on the legality of general warrants, and to confine themselves to the discussion of the mere act of those gentlemen, so as not to prejudice the question, then undecided in the courts of law. After examining evidence, and hearing the parties in their own defence, the complaint was discharged. A motion was made to produce the warrant under

13th, 14th,
17th, Feb.
Debates on
the breach
of privilege.

¹ The Chief Justice of the Common Pleas had given an opinion at nisi prius, but the decision on the bills of exceptions was yet reserved.

C H A P.
VII.

1764.
And on ge-
neral War-
rants.

which they had acted, but rejected. A general question was submitted to the House, "That a warrant for apprehending and seizing the author, printers, and publishers of a seditious libel, is not warranted by law." This motion was afterwards amended by adding, "Although such warrant has been issued according to the practice of office, and has been frequently produced to the Court of King's Bench; and, so far as appears to this House, the validity thereof has never been doubted, but the parties have been bailed by the court." The principal point of defence urged by ministry, and, in fact, their best ground for exculpation, was long-established precedent, and they cited two instances in which Mr. Pitt issued general warrants.

Mr. Pitt said, all the crown had desired, and the ministers wished, was accomplished in the conviction and expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, and therefore it was now their duty to do justice to the nation, the constitution, and the law; but the ministers and law officers, by evading the discussion, appeared conscious that the warrant was illegal. He denied that precedent afforded any justification: and said when he himself issued such warrants he knew them to be illegal, but preferring the general safety, in time of war and public danger, to every personal consideration, he ran the risque, as he would of his head, had that been the forfeit, upon the like motive, and did an extraordinary act, against a suspicious foreigner, just come from France, and who was concealed at different times in different houses. He distinguished strongly between his case and that before the House: "What was there in a libel so heinous and terrible, as to require this formidable instrument, which, like an inundation, bore down all the barriers and fences of happiness and security? Parliament had voted away its own privilege, and laid the personal freedom of every representative of the nation at the

“ mercy of His Majesty’s Attorney General. If the
 “ House negatived the motion, they would be the
 “ disgrace of the present age, and the reproach of
 “ posterity ; who, after sacrificing their own privi-
 “ leges, had abandoned the liberty of the subject,
 “ upon a pretence wilfully founded in error, and
 “ manifestly urged for the purpose of delusion.”

C H A P.

VII.

1764.

The ministry, in general, avoided the question of legality, confining themselves entirely to precedent, and the impropriety of deciding a subject which was yet to be discussed in the courts below. The opposition had arranged their motions with great care, at several meetings held at the house of Sir George Savile^m. They began the debate, it is said, in full confidence of victory ; but after a long discussion, the question of an adjournment for four months was carried by a small majority.ⁿ

Mr. Wilkes, having entered an appearance, was found guilty on both the prosecutions, for publishing the North Briton, and the Essay on Woman, but his popularity was undiminished, and the spirit excited by the proceedings against him unallayed. On the very day of his trial, the common council voted thanks to the city members for their zealous and spirited endeavours to assert the rights and liberties of the subject, by their laudable exertions on the late question respecting general warrants, and exhorted them to persevere in the same course. At the same time, in manifestation of the sense they entertained of the inflexible firmness and integrity of Lord Chief Justice Pratt, they voted him the freedom of the city, and requested that he would sit for his picture, to be placed in Guildhall, in gratitude for his honest and upright decision on the validity of the warrant.

21st.
Wilkes
tried.

Proceedings
of the com-
mon coun-
cil.

1st Nov.
1763.

^m History of the Minority, p. 270.

ⁿ 234 against 220. General Conway voted in this Minority, although, in every other instance, he supported the ministry. This single act gave so much offence, that at the rising of parliament he was deprived of all his civil and military employments. See Lord Orford’s Works, vol. ii. p. 547, vol. v. p. 105.

C H A P.
VII.

1764.
Wilkes out-
lawed.
Supplies.

10th Mar.
Resolutions
for taxing
America.

5th April.

19th April.
Prorogation
of Parlia-
ment.

View of
American
affairs.

Mr. Wilkes was afterwards outlawed for not appearing to receive judgment.

The supplies for this year amounted to 7,771,000*l.*; the deficiency was raised, without new taxes or a lottery, by the renewal of the Bank charter for twenty-one years, for which government received a hundred and ten thousand pounds^s; by the produce of French prizes taken before the war, amounting to seven hundred thousand pounds; and by two millions from the sinking fund. The ministry also deemed it necessary, this year, to contemplate America as a source of future revenue. A series of resolutions was brought into the House for regulating the trade, and imposing duties on certain articles of American commerce; they formed the basis of an act, which afterward passed the legislature, and directed that the new duties should be paid in specie into the English Exchequer. These resolutions were accompanied with one for introducing a stamp duty into America; but the minister withdrew it for the present, in order to allow time for the colonists to petition against it, when brought forward in another session.

In the speech on proroguing Parliament, the King adverted to the measures respecting America in these terms: "The wise regulations which have been established to augment the public revenues, to unite the interests of the most distant possessions of my crown, and to encourage and secure their commerce with Great Britain, call for my hearty approbation."

The affairs of America assumed from this period an unexpected importance; and this attempt to derive from the colonies, a revenue for the relief of the mother-country, laid the foundation of one of the most extraordinary contests recorded in history.

The great accession of territory acquired by the peace, demanded no less wisdom than genius for its

^o This was not the only advantage accruing to government from the transaction. The Bank also undertook to circulate a million in Exchequer bills, bearing four per cent., which were then at a discount. Sinclair's History of the Revenue, vol. iii. p. 16.

government; and it seems almost to exceed the art of the politician to frame such a system as would, without imposing the yoke of slavery, preserve the tie of dependence, over an immense tract of colony, so far removed from the parent shore. The inhabitants of great part of North America were strongly imbued with the spirit of liberty which characterizes the natives of Britain, from whom they derived their origin, and with that jealous irritability which is the companion and best guard of uncontaminated freedom.

Without penetrating into the remote periods of history with critical exactness, it will be proper succinctly to point out the differences in the inhabitants of various parts of the British American dominions, and their habits and propensities, so as to form a clear estimate of their motives and springs of action. The colonies were resolved into three grand divisions, the Northern, Middle, and Southern.

The Northern, or New England Provinces, comprehending New Hampshire, Massachusetts Bay, Rhode Island, and Connecticut, possess a less fertile soil than the other parts of America; but supply large pasture for herds; the uncultivated parts produce good timber, and their seas abound with fish. The natives are healthy, strong, and vigorous; keen, penetrating, active, and enterprizing. Their origin, derived from the fanatics, who, in the reign of Charles I., fled from persecution in England to exercise it in America, was still discernible in their manners, conduct, and habits.

The Middle Provinces, which include New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Delaware, afford the means of agriculture, and are favourable to the breed of cattle. Their soil is rich: and they are enabled to export wheat, flour, and furs. The inhabitants are robust, frugal, persevering, and industrious; plain and honest in their dealings, but of rude unpliant manners, with little penetration, and less knowledge. The greater part of their country had been ceded to

C H A P.

VII.

the crown of Great Britain by the Dutch and Swedes. Pennsylvania was a settlement of Quakers, for whom the celebrated Penn had framed a wise and consistent code of laws. Their prosperity and unobtrusive character rendered them easy to govern; and, until seduced or irritated, they were faithful in their attachment to Great Britain.

The Southern Provinces, under which denomination are included Maryland, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia, exhibit a considerable variety of climate and manners. In the most southern parts, where the intense heat renders labour impracticable to any but Africans, the people are pallid, tall, slender, indolent, voluptuous, and ostentatious; yet shrewd, intelligent, and hospitable. The inhabitants of Maryland, Virginia, and South Carolina, were distinguished for their imitation of the people of Great Britain, which extended to every particular of their furniture, dress, and manners. The natives of North Carolina were hardy and robust, chiefly employed in rearing cattle, and remarkable for their expertness in the use of rifle-barrelled guns.

Virginia, the earliest British colony in America, which owed its name to Elizabeth, and its establishment to James I., had risen from a miserable handful of emigrants, not exceeding a hundred, to a state of great wealth and prosperity. The inhabitants, as strongly marked in their character as those of the New England colonies, were exemplary in their attachment to monarchy; they were the last of the British subjects who yielded to the successful arms of Oliver Cromwell, and the first of the colonists who proclaimed Charles II.—Maryland, ever prosperous, free, and happy, was originally a settlement of Catholics, whom Charles I. reluctantly persecuted, and who retained an affectionate allegiance to the crown. North and South Carolina were granted by Charles II. to some noblemen and persons of rank, who employed Locke to form a constitution; but this great gift of an immortal genius was no blessing to the

people; they did not thrive till the government of England annulled their constitution, and subjected them to the more practical system of Virginia.^p

Such were the people whom Mr. Grenville proposed to subject to taxation, for the purpose of easing the burthens of England. In the first view of this project, it is only necessary to examine its general expediency or impropriety, leaving the various measures originating from it, to be discussed in the periods which produced them.

The participation which America claimed and enjoyed in the benefits of the Revolution, rendered it merely reasonable that the colonies should contribute toward the discharge of a debt incurred in support of the government, which was to them the source of liberty and prosperity. The last war was undertaken principally on account of America, and a great part of the debt contracted in that which preceded, had originated in the defence of that country^q. The practice of imposing taxes by authority of parliament on the transatlantic dominions was not new; it had been used ever since their establishment; not to an extent sufficient to afford great advantage to the country, but abundantly sufficient, so far as precedent can be required, to support the right of the mother-country to draw pecuniary relief from her dependencies^r. The principle, at the period of passing the resolutions in parliament, was not deemed open to an objection; and it was considered necessary, as well as just, to realize the advantages which had been promised from the colonization and protection of that distant continent^s.

In opposition to the rights of Great Britain,

^p Chiefly from Stedman's History of the American War, Introduction. See also Chalmers's Political Annals. Raynal's History of the East and West Indies, book 17 and 18. Morse's American Geography, &c. &c.

^q Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 459.

^r See the Rights of Great Britain asserted, p. 102, and the Statutes there enumerated, from 12th Charles II. to 6th George II.: also Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 10, and p. 44.

^s Smith's Wealth of Nations, vol. iii. p. 466.

C H A P.

VII.

thus supported by precedent and every known principle of colonization, certain abstract propositions were assumed, and descanted on with a violence adapted to a cause already secure of partizans, and requiring only a plausible vindication. Among these, were the axioms, that in all free states every man is his own legislator; that all taxes are free gifts for public services; and that no one community can have any power over the property or legislation of another community, that is not incorporated with it by a just and adequate representation. Without discussing the abstract truth of these positions, as applied to independent states, it must be obvious that, with respect to colonies, they can never be founded on general principle, but merely on peculiar and adventitious circumstances. No man can be rash enough to assert, that when the first British emigrants established themselves in Virginia; when their diminutive colony of a hundred, reduced by sickness and the climate to one half of that number, hung with all the weakness, and all the solicitude of infancy, on the protecting support of the parent land; that then these fifty individuals, stationed in a desert, and occupied chiefly in the pursuit of food, were defrauded of their privileges as British subjects, because no provision was made for their representation in the national councils. When afterward, by numerous emigrations, the colonists had acquired a more respectable establishment; when their charters had given permanence to their possessions, and the force and wisdom of the mother-country were liberally exerted in favouring their prosperity; when, as a title to these benefits, they industriously procured the insertion of a clause in their charters, importing that they were still to be considered as Englishmen; and when, in return for such protection, they submitted to those impositions which, though not profitable to Great Britain, fully

established the principle of taxation by parliament ; at these periods no one can assert that their rights were invaded, or not duly consulted^u. But when the mother-country, exhausted by a protracted war, looked to its wealthy and flourishing colonies for relief ; then these pleas were advanced, which never were, which never could have been before resorted to, and which now could only be justified by the populousness and strength which America had derived from the protection of Great Britain. The same arguments, if true in the abstract, would equally apply to the Isle of Man, to Nevis, or the most diminutive of the colonies ; if the application depended merely on force, they would either suppress the spirit of colonization, or indicate so clearly the only means of securing subjection, that it would become a rule of policy to abandon colonists to their fate, with unsolicitous apathy, or to prevent their future independency by damming up the sources of prosperity.

Such principles had never regulated the practice of the British government ; and the ministry who thought of imposing a tax on America, could not be expected to foresee the effects which afterwards resulted from the attempt. Crown-lawyers could only reason from the usage and experience of past ages ; the cabinet had no other guide : no warning voice raised itself in the House of Commons : but the measure was suffered to pass through in silence, as one of those plans of external regulation, which proceeded rather from the executive than the deliberative power, and where concurrence is given without steadfast examination.

Whatever cogency may now be ascribed to deductions drawn from isolated propositions, in a case where success is resorted to as the most convincing argument, the right of taxing America seemed at this period so incontestible, that any person who,

^u See Chalmers's Political Annals, chap. ii.

C H A P.

VII.

Government
of Canada.7th Oct.
1763.Intrigues of
the French
in Canada.

before the measures were actually adopted, had insinuated the possibility of opposition, would have been derided as the wildest of speculatists. Whether the ministry acted wisely, under all the circumstances of the times, in their attempt to tax the colonies, will be better gathered from the subsequent narrative, and the observations to which it gives rise, than from an accumulation of objections and replies.

The expulsion of the French from North America, which afforded so much satisfaction to all parties, in the treaty of peace, was, in fact, an error in politics, which soon produced its own punishment. Canada having been retained as more than equivalent to the conquests ceded in the West Indies, government was anxious to prove the choice judicious, by forming such establishments as would most speedily and effectually produce advantageous returns to the country. The conquered territory was divided into three governments, Quebec, East Florida, and West Florida^x, each of which had its boundaries precisely assigned, and its functions so regulated as to present the greatest probability of eventual benefit. With becoming moderation and prudence, the British ministry did not include great part of the ceded lands in these governments; lest the Indians, who were extremely irritable, should take umbrage at seeing their country minutely parcelled out by the colonists.

But when the authority of the French ceased in Canada, neither their influence nor their enmity left the shores. They had always conciliated the good-will of the Indians, in a degree superior to the English settlers. Their establishments were military, and their spirit of commerce not being so extensive, they had merely participated in the rights of hunting with the natives. The British Americans, arrogating to themselves an exclusive possession of the territory;

^x There was besides a new West India Government, called the Government of Granada, extending over that island, the Grenadines, Dominica, St. Vincent's, and Tobago.

by force, by fraudulent conveyances, and other acts of chicane, grounded on the abuse of treaties, expelled the Indians not only from their hunting grounds, but even from their homes^y. The French Jesuits had acquired a considerable ascendancy over the minds of these savages, and soon after the peace, began to exert it to the prejudice of the British settlements.

Instigated by these emissaries, the Indians presented some well-founded complaints of encroachment, and protested against any title to the lands occupied to their prejudice, which might be derived from deeds, as they had been fraudulently obtained. The governors to whom these complaints were addressed, evinced a disposition to treat them with due attention; but the Indian deputies, after stating their grievances, departed, and prepared to commence an extensive plan of preconcerted hostilities. Their project was to assemble all their forces, to make an attack on the back settlements in harvest time, and to complete the ruin of their enemies by fire and indiscriminate slaughter. This enterprise failed in part, through the too great ardour of some young Indians; but was executed to a dreadful extent, and with a perseverance and combination which evidently proved they had European advisers. They spread such terror and destruction through the back settlements, that all the frontier country of Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, was deserted; and by plundering and murdering the itinerant dealers, and intercepting convoys of merchandise, did great injury to the trading towns in America. They also took several forts in the Canadian territory, and butchered the garrisons without mercy.

1763.
Indian war.

Recovering from their consternation, the British

^y See Pownall's Administration of the British Colonies, vol. ii. p. 174. 186. et seq. And imputations very discreditable to the honour and humanity of the British Americans, in their conduct towards the Indians, are advanced by Dr. Tucker in the Epistle Dedicatory to his fifth Tract on American Subjects.

C H A P.
VII.

1763.

30th July.

5th Aug.

prepared for defence, and sent reinforcements to several forts, which were regularly blockaded. The savages displayed unwonted resolution and perseverance: they were well disciplined, never afforded an easy conquest, and sometimes gained the victory, although opposed by the superior tactics of European troops. Captain Dalyel, who attacked them near Fort Detroit, was killed, and his detachment compelled to retire; and Colonel Bouquet, marching to the relief of Fort Pitt, formerly Fort Du Quesne, was furiously assailed by the savages, whom it required all his skill and resolution to repulse, and though victorious, he was glad to reach the place of his destination, after sacrificing his baggage, and great part of the supplies intended for the garrison. Near the carrying place of Niagara, five hundred Indians surrounded an escort, and slew seventy privates, beside serjeants and commissioned officers; but notwithstanding these successes, when the forts were put in a proper state of defence, all apprehension of danger subsided.

Mar. 1764.

3d April.

Resolutions
for the pre-
vention of
smuggling.

Governor Sir William Johnson displayed great address in detaching the Indians of the Six Nations from the confederacy, and gaining their assistance against those who still persisted in hostilities. Having surrounded and taken prisoners a party of Delaware Indians, he brought the Senecas to terms of peace; and after some few insignificant contests with detachments of the other tribes, the flames of war were extinguished.^z

While this contest was raging in America, a regulation, made in Great Britain for imposing a restraint on smuggling, was extended to their coasts. The revenue being greatly defrauded by the arts and perseverance of contraband adventurers, it was judged expedient, at the termination of the war, to

^z Smollet's complete History of England, vol. xvi. p. 264. 409. Bouquet's Historical Narrative of the Expedition.

put in commission several small ships, with cutters and tenders, which were stationed on the different coasts of Great Britain and Ireland. The commanders were invested with powers similar to those delegated to revenue officers, and took the same oaths.

In Great Britain and Ireland, where an enlarged spirit of commerce produces a just system of conduct, the distinction between the fair merchant and the smuggler is strongly maintained, and whatever penalties the illicit trader may incur, he meets neither pity nor countenance from the respectable part of the community. In America and the West Indies, the notions were widely different; nor was their judgment entirely founded on selfishness or dishonesty. The trade from the West Indies to the Spanish settlements, although contraband, not only supplied the colonies with specie, which could not be derived from Great Britain, but formed a capital market for numerous commodities received from the mother-country, and enabled the North Americans to traffic advantageously with the West India islands, and to pay in money their taxes and duties. The extent to which the practice of smuggling was carried, both in America and the West Indies, was in a certain degree prejudicial to the revenue, and demanded regulation; but the absolute suppression of contraband trade was not consistent with the interest of the colonies or of the mother-country. Any system long and advantageously pursued to such an extent as to be sanctioned by the majority both in numbers and respectability, is not to be contemplated as a mere abstract question of propriety; but the habits, powers, and dispositions of the parties concerned, should be studiously examined, and leniently considered, in all regulating acts. The powers of government ought also to be correctly estimated, and such measures pursued as will not occasion sullen discontent, or violent and durable opposition; and in all cases, even when positive crimes are to be repressed,

C H A P.
VII.
1764.

such a line of conduct should be adopted as will leave to the sufferers no just ground of complaint.

The extensive coasts of America were peculiarly favourable to the practice of illicit trade; and the disposition of all ranks of men combining with their habits and necessities to encourage it, force alone could effect its suppression. It may be fairly doubted if force, used to deprive an individual of his acquisition, where no shame attends the loss, is a fit instrument of commercial regulation; but where such unpopular means are employed, they should be only entrusted to persons so carefully selected as to prevent the imputation of undue exertion. Naval men, though most fit in one respect, were utterly unqualified in another: the spirit of enterprize which made them useful in war, rendered them dreadful in peace; and the same disposition which constituted their glory when employed against the enemy, was the foundation of numerous complaints when their assistance in the suppression of smuggling was extended to America. It was alleged, that the fair and the clandestine trader were equally exposed to violence; that the naval officers were unacquainted with the custom-house laws, and therefore made many illegal seizures: while the American traders having no redress but from England, the tediousness and difficulty of obtaining it, left them in fact without relief. The merchants complained of the stagnation of commerce, occasioned by the suspension of intercourse with the Spanish settlements: an enmity against the officers of the navy, originating in their new employ, gained ground, and was assiduously maintained by the abusive and insulting paragraphs which daily issued from the press.

Effect of
the proposed
taxation on
the Ameri-
cans.

While such was the state of the public mind among the inhabitants of America; while the yell of Indian carnage yet was in their ears, and the smoke of their ruined habitations before their eyes; their rage and despair were further inflamed by the ar-

rival of the British resolutions for imposing taxes. A more unfavourable moment could not have been selected. The unaccommodating regulations on trade, gave no hope of compromise or evasion of the new duties. The Americans perceiving in these resolutions the first appearance of a general and extensive plan of taxation, the limits of which being concealed from their sight, were magnified to their apprehension, determined not to wait for the gradual exposure of the plan to combat it by parts, but to strike at once at the basis, by denying the right of the mother-country to impose taxes on the colonies, which not being represented in parliament, did neither really nor virtually consent to the imposition.

C H A P.

VII.

1764.

In these, and all the subsequent transactions of the American revolution, the New England provinces, and Massachusetts in particular, took the most active and leading part. They passed resolutions against the proposed laws, which were transmitted to their agents, and to the board of trade, and laid before the privy council^a. From these circumstances, it has been asserted and believed, that the natives had formed, long before this period, a deliberate system of separation from Great Britain. This opinion is in part true; but the desire of independence was limited to persons so inconsiderable, both for number and situation, as not to afford reasonable grounds of apprehension. The inhabitants of the Northern provinces never lost the original inflexibility of their republican ancestors, nor the captious spirit of the ancient sectaries. So early as 1754, there were men in these, and some of the other colonies, who held independence in prospect, and who were determined to seize every opportunity of promoting it, and increasing their numbers^b. The proposed

Conduct of
the New
England
provinces.

11th Dec.
1764.

^a Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. Introduction. — Almon's Collection of Papers, &c. relative to the war with America, vol. i.

^b Examination of Joseph Galloway before the House of Commons, p. 2. — Andrews's History of the American War, p. 11.

C H A P.

VII.

1764.

taxation afforded these malcontents an opportunity of combining the inhabitants of all the colonies in such measures as would ultimately favour their views; and this opportunity they diligently and assiduously improved. They had now a pretence for appealing to the sense of the country at large against the exertion of authority by Great Britain, without hazard of offending the most loyal or respectable Americans. They easily engaged their fellow-citizens to desist from the use of those luxuries, with which they had been hitherto supplied from the mother-country; and thus uniting the spirit of revenge and injury with the plausible pretexts of economy, established an effectual, permanent, and extensive principle of opposition and resistance.^c

Dr. Franklin sent to England.

His character,

They chose Dr. Franklin, as agent for America, to exert in England his talents and influence in defeating the measures complained of^d; a choice which had great effect on the subsequent transactions of the colonies. Dr. Franklin, bred to the trade of a printer, and at an early period of life obliged to rely on himself alone for subsistence and advancement, was rendered cautious, attentive, and circumspect. Although his efforts had been rewarded by a competent fortune, and the postmastership of America, he did not resign himself to indolence, but still pursued the employments of his younger years with unabated perseverance. An affectionate attachment to literature and natural philosophy, acting upon a bold and ardent genius, rendered him daring and adventurous, but left him all that minute attention and patient calmness, which combine trifling accidents and little causes in the promotion and perfection of the greatest designs. His eloquence was simple, but nervous and commanding, and both in speaking and writing, abound-

^c Andrews's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 36. — Stedman's History, vol. i. p. 23. — Almon's Collection of Papers, &c. vol. i. p. 5.

^d Life of Dr. Franklin.

ed with those brief apophthegms, which make a forcible impression on the mind, subjugate the judgment, and are never eradicated from the memory. The projects of Franklin, which in another would have seemed exaggerated and preposterous, were by him so well planned and so industriously pursued, that they never failed to produce the most extensive, and to all but himself, unexpected results. His fortune, his knowledge, and his great work, the American revolution, are convincing and incontrovertible proofs of the immense labours which may be achieved by the union of genius, judgment, and perseverance.

C H A P.

VII.

1764.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTH.

1765.

State of Ireland. — Retrospective view of its constitution and government. — State of parties at the King's accession. — Disputes in the cabinet. — Conduct of Lord Halifax, the lord lieutenant. — Outrages of the lower class of people. — The Earl of Northumberland lord lieutenant. — Debates on the pension list. — State of foreign powers. — The French seize and restore Tortuga. — Spain commits irregularities — but makes satisfaction. — Affairs of Poland and Russia. — Meeting of the British parliament. — Taxation of America. — Debates on General Warrants. — On informations ex officio. — The Isle of Man annexed to the realm. — Regency act. — Insurrection of silk-weavers. — Negotiations for a change of ministry. — Meeting of the ministry in Downing-street, and terms proposed by them to the King. — Rockingham administration formed. — Death of the Duke of Cumberland — and of Prince Frederick.

C H A P.
VIII.

1765.
State of Ire-
land.

THE uninterrupted series of events has hitherto prevented a due attention to the affairs of Ireland, which from the beginning of the reign excited an unusual degree of interest. The government of Ireland, as connected with Great Britain, was daily becoming more difficult: an enterprising spirit of liberty on one hand, and an equitable desire to temper the strictness of rule by the mild operation of beneficent laws and usages, on the other, occasioned many perplexed questions of right and policy, and favoured the views of men who aimed, by means of popularity, to attain the heights of political elevation. As the disputes to which their efforts gave birth are of considerable interest, a brief retrospect will be necessary.

Retrospect
of the con-
stitution and
government.

From the first introduction of the English into Ireland, to the reign of Henry VII., the intercourse

between the countries was not established in a system of extensive and permanent utility: chance and force directed the operations of the crown and of the subject, and although the laws of England were declared the rule of government, still the people were but imperfectly restrained or protected by them; and no recurrence to the King was necessary to sanction the laws which originated in Ireland.

This anomaly in legislation was productive of much inconvenience and oppression; and Sir Edward Poynings, lord deputy in the tenth year of Henry VII. framed, at the request of the parliament and the people, the celebrated statutes known by his name. That part which related to the formation of laws, ordained that, before a parliament should be convened, the chief governor and council should certify to the King, under the great seal, the consideration and causes, and the articles of the acts to be proposed: and when the King in council should have approved or altered such acts, and returned them certified, under the great seal, with permission to summon a parliament, then the acts so certified, and no others, might be proposed, received, or rejected in the Irish Senate.

This act gave stability to the constitution, facilitated the intercourse between the Sovereign and the subject, and reconciled the different views of the two nations, by preventing precipitate determinations on their mutual or peculiar interests; but as its restrictions were found too severe in precluding the framing of any law suggested after the sitting of parliament, a statute of 3 & 4 Philip and Mary, c. iv. enacted, that new propositions might be certified to England in the usual forms, even after the summons and during the session of parliament^a. Thus, a beneficial relaxation took place; the¹ Parliament assembled if a single bill was forwarded to England, and

^a See Lord Montmorres's History of the Irish Parliament, vol. i. p. 47. et seq. History of the Political Connexion between England and Ireland, p. 92. Hume's History of England, vol. iii. p. 367. Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 99; and Christian's Note on this part of Blackstone, p. 103.

C H A P.

VIII.

the heads of subsequent statutes were transmitted during the session.^b

From this period the benefits of the British constitution were rapidly extended to Ireland, till the rebellion in the reign of Charles I. and the cruel massacres and confiscations which took place during the commonwealth. At the restoration, Charles II. generously waved his right to the forfeited lands, and the parliament of Ireland, in grateful return, vested the revenue, which was in general fully sufficient to answer all exigencies, in the crown for ever.

The bill usually sent over from Ireland to the King in council was a money bill; and the practice was so generally adopted, as to be considered merely of course. Once only an attempt was made, in a critical period of the English history, to impede the operations of government by a popular pretext of exerting the constitutional right of the House of Commons to hold the national purse. This was four years after the Revolution^c, when Lord Sydney, chief governor of Ireland, was sent over for the purpose of holding a parliament to regulate the affairs of that kingdom, which had fallen into great disorder. The parliament was summoned in the usual manner, according to Poynings's law; several bills were transmitted from the governor and council to England, and returned under the great seal, two of which were bills of supply. One of them granting an additional excise was passed, but before the first reading, the House came to resolutions: that it was the undoubted right of the Commons of Ireland, in parliament assembled, to prepare the ways and means of raising money; that it was the sole and undoubted right of the Commons to prepare heads of a bill for raising money; and that, notwithstanding the aforesaid rights of the Commons, they thought fit, in consideration of the present exigencies of affairs, and the

^b Lord Montmorres, *ubi sup.*

^c In 1693.

public necessity of speedily raising a supply for Their Majesties, to order a bill transmitted out of England, intituled, "An act for an additional excise," &c. to be read, but that it should not be drawn into precedent. The other bill, "For granting to Their Majesties certain duties for one year," was rejected, and a resolution entered on the journals, stating as a reason that it did not take its rise in the Irish House of Commons.

C H A P.
VIII.

Lord Sydney, considering the constitution violated by this proceeding, soon afterward prorogued the parliament, having first animadverted on their proceedings with considerable severity, and entered a protest against them on the journals. The judges, both of Ireland and England, on a solemn consultation, declared the claim of the Irish House of Commons unfounded in law.

This parliament never sat again ; but a new legislature fully recognized the right against which their predecessors had contended. The practice of passing money bills transmitted by the privy council, and returned from England, was afterward invariably followed, according to the principle implicitly recognized by the Irish parliament, in a note to the lord deputy, entered on the journals of the House of Commons, the 29th of November 1614, in these terms: "The House of Commons, acknowledging the sole power and authority to transmit such bills as are to be propounded in parliament to rest in the lord deputy and council, do only desire to be as recommenders unto his lordship and the rest, touching the acts following, which they humbly offer as meet to be transmitted with such other acts as his lordship and council shall think fit to be propounded in the next session."

The principle thus acknowledged was not soon again brought into dispute ; but during the reign of George I. a turbulent opposition in Ireland gave great embarrassment to the ministry, and in the affair of

CHAP. Wood's patent for the coinage of copper^d, com-
 VIII. pletely triumphed over the exertions of government. In this contest, the British minister, Sir Robert Walpole, was highly sensible of the disadvantage accruing to government from permitting the important offices of lord primate and lord chancellor to be occupied by natives; and therefore, when Lord Middleton resigned the great seal, West, an Englishman, was appointed in his stead; the situation of lord primate being already filled by Boulter, Bishop of Bristol, an Englishman, who had been appointed on the death of Linsay, in 1724.

? This prudent arrangement gave an appearance of unanimity in the proceedings of government, till the appointment of Dr. Stone^e to the primacy in 1747; soon after which a contest for power between him and Mr. Henry Boyle, Speaker of the House of Commons, and afterwards Earl of Shannon, embroiled the cabinet.

Residence was not at that period a part of the lord lieutenant's duty, and therefore, except on urgent occasions, the public business was transacted under the auspices of great men in office, who held a commission as lords justices.

Mr. Boyle was a man whose understanding, naturally of the first class, was improved by a long acquaintance with the laws of his country, and whose experience was matured by having long sustained a prominent part in the conduct of public affairs: the number of his friends was augmented, and their adherence secured by his affable manners, and the honourable inflexibility of his attachment. Dr. Stone,

^d In 1725.

^e The Rev. George Stone, D.D. was brother of Andrew Stone, confidential secretary to the Duke of Newcastle, and by his Grace's interest was appointed Dean of Derry, Bishop of Ferns in 1740, and after successive translations to the sees of Kildare and Derry, was raised to the primacy.

who rose to his dignity under the patronage of the Duke of Newcastle, united a supple, insinuating address with a presumptuous mind, and insatiable ambition. He was desirous immediately to seize the reins of power, which Mr. Boyle, who maintained his pre-eminence with firmness and dignity, was unwilling to resign.

In 1751, the Duke of Dorset was appointed lord lieutenant; and he, acting under the influence of the Duke of Newcastle, in support of Dr. Stone, formed a new junto, of which he was the ostensible leader. This innovation convulsed the cabinet; and the rage of party extending itself over the whole nation, almost every individual ranged himself on one or the other side. The talents and exertions of Mr. Boyle were sufficient to embarrass the proceedings of government, and on one question, in 1753, he succeeded in obtaining a majority against the ministry; but perhaps his influence was less conspicuous in this advantage, than in preventing the numbers, which were not greatly in his favour^f, from being inserted on the journals. On this occasion he was dismissed, with all his adherents.

These dissensions, however, so impaired the energy of government, that the Marquis of Hartington, afterward Duke of Devonshire, who was appointed lord lieutenant in 1755, effected a compromise with Boyle, whose friends were re-instated in their offices, and himself, in 1756, advanced to the peerage, with the title of Earl of Shannon. The primate being thus in a sort of disgrace, made overtures to his rival, and a coalition was effected.

In 1757, the Duke of Bedford was appointed lord lieutenant. He found the House of Commons principally governed by certain individuals of family and influence, who, returning a majority of members, were enabled to make their own terms with govern-

^f 122 to 117.

CHAP. ment, and were distinguished by the name of parlia-
 VIII. {mentary undertakers*. During the Duke's adminis-
 tration a new party arose in the House of Commons,
 who arrogated to themselves the title of The Patriots.
 It was formed, in general, of men of moderate for-
 tune, but extensive ambition, of middle rank, and
 great abilities. They professed a decided antipathy to
 government, and to the overbearing authority of the
 undertakers, and occasionally lent their aid to one
 or the other party, as best suited their views of di-
 minishing the power of each. When government
 was at variance with the undertakers, they ranged on
 the side of government; but finding themselves
 abandoned, and their opponents readily received into
 favour, they entered into open hostilities with both.

As the hereditary revenue granted to the crown, would, if discretely managed, have been sufficient to answer all the necessary charges of state, the patriots, sensible that their cause would be effectually promoted by subjecting the servants of the crown to fiscal embarrassments, made their chief effort to load this revenue with charges, under plausible pretences. For this purpose, during the administration of the Duke of Bedford, they passed an act for granting a bounty on corn and flour brought by land-carriage to Dublin, which, while it answered their great political intent, was a gratifying job in favour of landed men in distant counties. Whether through treachery, supineness, or the fear of opposing so popular a measure as that of supplying the capital with provisions, the undertakers lent their aid, and the lord lieutenant was, at length, induced to sanction the bill. In ordinary years, this bounty amounted to 50,000*l.* but in great harvests to a much larger sum. The Duke of Bedford, sensible of the diminution which would thus be effected in the revenue, was desirous to limit

■ See ■ Philosophical Survey of the South of Ireland, by Dr. John Watkinson, p. 57.

the duration of its provisions to a term of years ; but the popularity of the measure, and the urgent instances of its promoters, induced him to grant it his support. They also promised to establish a fund to repair the deficiency in the permanent revenue ; but when they had attained the desired object, never thought it necessary to fulfil their engagement. This bounty was capable of becoming extremely embarrassing to government, as it was not payable out of the treasury, but out of the revenues *in transitu* in the hands of the collector of customs in the port of Dublin.

At the accession of the King, the Primate, Lord Shannon, and Mr. Ponsonby, Speaker of the House of Commons, were lords justices ; the lord lieutenant had resided only one year ; the lords justices governed the country according to their own views, and regulated every department without controul. They now attempted to obtain popularity, by introducing a new practice, and were joined in this effort by Mr. Malone, chancellor of the exchequer, who in opposition had been highly popular, and resolved to embrace this opportunity of regaining the influence over the public mind, which he had lost by accepting a ministerial situation. The privy council being assembled, a doubt was suddenly suggested on the propriety of sending over a money bill, as the rejection of it by the Irish House of Commons was anticipated, which would occasion the dissolution of the new parliament, and thus give rise to much dissatisfaction : in support of this opinion, a standing order of the Irish House of Commons, made in the year 1727, was cited. As the lord chancellor (Lord Bowes) had been previously referred to, and given his opinion that, according to custom, a money bill should be sent, this objection was in fact a surprise. It was obviously a mere attempt to gain popularity ; but as a strong party in the council supported the objection, it became necessary for the chancellor and his friends

Conduct of
the chan-
cellor of the
exchequer.

C H A P.
VIII.

to maintain their opinion. Debates were carried on with great virulence, and party rancour inflamed to its highest pitch. The popular junto at length prevailed so far as to alter the established usage, by sending a bill, not for a supply to the King, but relating to a vote of credit for Ireland. This was open to every objection which applied to the usual bill, and was, besides, unnecessary, as the appropriated duties already voted by parliament, would not expire till December 1761.^g

Arrival and
conduct of
Lord Hali-
fax as lord
lieutenant.

6th Oct.
1761.

22d Oct.

In this position of affairs, the Duke of Bedford was recalled, and succeeded by the Earl of Halifax. The exalted character of this nobleman, his integrity, independence, and intrepidity, warranted sanguine expectations of a vigorous and successful administration. On his arrival, he received the usual compliments with dignified graciousness, and his deportment, joined to the reputation of his talents, instantly gained a degree of popularity which his subsequent conduct enabled him to retain^h. He met the parliament with a judicious and sensible speech, in which he strongly recommended unanimity, and a forbearance of public heats and private animosities. He secured his popularity by earnestly enforcing the necessity of attending to the natural advantages of the country, agriculture, and the linen manufactory; and recommending a proper regard to the Protestant establishment, by encouraging the charter schools.

26th Feb.
1762.

While he persevered in this line of conduct, there was no probability that he would become subservient to the views of any party; an insidious attempt was therefore made to diminish his reputation for independence, by a resolution carried in the committee of accounts, and afterward passed in parliament. It stated the annual appointments of the lord lieutenant to be inadequate to the dignity of the

^g Lord Bowes' Letters to Dodington.

^h Letter from Lord Bowes to Mr. Dodington, 16th Oct. 1761.

office, and the House therefore requested His Majesty to grant such an augmentation as would make them amount to sixteen thousand pounds. The liberality of this vote claimed the thanks of Lord Halifax, he applauded the motives on which it was founded, but said, as it had been his duty, in the course of the session, to propose plans attended with great public expence, and to enforce economy, he could not, without pain, submit that the establishment, already burthened in consequence of his suggestions, should be further charged for his particular profit: but while he disclaimed the application of their liberality to himself, he recommended that the augmentation should be provisionally made, and conferred on his successor. This dignified and manly conduct disarmed faction; the business of the session proceeded with uninterrupted harmony; liberal votes were passed respecting the several objects mentioned in His Excellency's speech¹, and he declared himself perfectly satisfied with his situation, superior to party, and resolved that the King's authority should not suffer in his hands.^k

The internal tranquillity of Ireland was disturbed by a band of desperadoes, sometimes called Levelers, from their levelling the walls and ditches under pretence of restoring the commons to the poor; and at other times White Boys, from wearing a shirt or white garment over their cloaths. The union of these banditti was secured, and the increase of their numbers favoured, by oaths of secrecy, and by wreaking their vengeance on those who refused to concur in their measures. They continued to harass government for many years, and the civil and military power were alternately employed against them in vain.

Lord Halifax was succeeded in the vice-royalty of Ireland by the Earl of Northumberland. The

Outrages of
the lower
class of peo-
ple.

1763.

¹ See proceedings of the Irish parliament in the different periodical publications.

^k Letters from Lord Halifax to Lord Melcombe.

C H A P.
VIII.

31st Oct.

Discussions
on the pen-
sion list.

insurgents in different parts of the kingdom, and even in Dublin, increasing to an alarming degree, and committing many dreadful atrocities, a committee was instituted by the House of Commons to examine into the causes of their outrages; but the inquiry produced no beneficial effects. Lord Shannon was now grown old, and appeared desirous only of repose; the primate was united with the lord lieutenant, and the speaker still acted in general under his influence.

But although this disposition in the leaders of the parliamentary undertakers appeared to promise tranquillity, the violence of party continued to augment; and among other topics of popular invective, the pensions on the Irish establishment furnished a constant theme of censure. A copy of the pension list was obtained, and became the subject of virulent discussion in both kingdoms; it was described as a never-failing source of undue influence and corruption. A motion made in the House of Commons to address the King for a writ of *scire facias*, to inquire into the legality of the patent by which the office of chancellor of the exchequer was held, was lost, but the amount of the pensions was continually descanted on; and one of a thousand pounds, granted in the name of George Charles, but in fact paid to M. de Viri, the Sardinian ambassador, for his services in the negotiation for peace, was selected as a peculiar topic of disapprobation. Mr. (afterward Lord) Pery, in an able speech, moved for an address. He stated the increase of pensions since the reign of George I., and the augmentation of that and the military establishment since the year 1756, which had been more than doubled. The arguments on the other side tended to prove that the kingdom of Ireland had scarcely suffered by the war, while her territory and commerce had been protected at the expence of Great Britain, and therefore it was reasonable to apply her

funds in time of peace to relieve the burthens of England. The motion was lost on a division; and a loyal address carried in both houses, expressing disapprobation of the daily libels, which violated every rule of decency, order, and government, and tended to excite a spirit of discontent and disobedience to their Sovereign, the laws, and the constitution.¹

C H A P.
VIII.
20th Dec.

Although the efforts of opposition failed in parliament, the public mind was violently agitated. The insurgents, under various names, as Levellers, White Boys, Oak Boys, Hearts of Steel, continued their excesses, and directed their persecutions against all who, by exacting or paying tithes in kind, became obnoxious to them; and in many parts of the kingdom the fields were deserted. In Dublin, the topics which agitated the metropolis of Great Britain found an equal interest; the guild of merchants voted their freedom to Mr. Pratt, afterward Lord Camden, and the corporation presented him with the freedom of the city in a gold box.^m

Agitation of
the public.

20th Jan.
1764.

The European powers, whose conduct was likely to affect Great Britain, presented no appearances which could afford serious disquietude. The French King, immersed in sensuality, and incapable of providing resources for the numerous debts which swallowed up his revenues, was obliged to employ those arbitrary acts of injustice which shew the weakness of government, and tend rapidly to its destruction. The disputes between the crown and the parliaments were now arising, which afterward begat a

State of
foreign
powers.

¹ Debates of the Irish Parliament; Smollet's History of England, vol. xvi. p. 282. et seq.; Inquiry into the Legality of Pensions, by Alexander M'Aulay; Thoughts on the Pension List of Ireland, with the list annexed;—and many other publications.

^m In this view of the affairs of Ireland, besides the authorities cited, and the ordinary sources of intelligence, I have been furnished with much interesting private information.—This note stood in the first and second editions of this work. The private information on which I principally relied, was a statement drawn up by the Earl of Macartney, and printed for the use of his own friends, under the title of "Extract from an account of Ireland in 1773, by a late chief secretary of that kingdom." Since the death of his lordship the pamphlet has been published, together with his life, by Mr. Barrow. See vol ii. p. 97.

C H A P.
VIII.

The French
seize Tor-
tuga,
1st June;

but restore
it.

Spain com-
mits irregu-
larities;

but makes
satisfaction.

Affairs of
Poland.

3d April.

Oct. 5th.
1763.

spirit of political disputation, productive in the end of the most baleful effects.

Some events, however, in the course of the year, seemed to threaten the tranquillity of Great Britain. A French ship of sixty-four guns, and three smaller vessels, suddenly appeared before Tortuga, or Turks' Island, an inconsiderable possession in the West Indies, valuable only for its salt-ponds, took the English inhabitants prisoners, and assumed possession of the place. The intelligence of this unjustifiable attack occasioned a great sensation in London; but the court of Versailles, on a representation by the British ambassador, disavowed the proceedings in the most explicit manner, and promised an honourable indemnification, the terms of which were to be adjusted by the French governor of St. Domingo and the British governor of Jamaica. Some jealousies were entertained that the French had encroached on Newfoundland, and were fortifying St. Pierre, contrary to the treaty of peace; but on inquiry they proved to be unfounded.

Complaints were also made of the Spanish governors, for interrupting the British logwood cutters, and of a Spanish commodore, for the seizure of an English ship in the Mediterranean; but in both cases ample and immediate satisfaction was afforded.

The King of Prussia, whom the defection of England had left without an ally, was anxious not to offend the House of Austria, and, at the same time, desirous to strengthen his interest by new connexions; he therefore made no efforts to prevent the Archduke Joseph from being elected King of the Romans, and pressed the completion of a treaty with Russia. The death of Augustus III. opened new views to the ambitious mind of Catherine, who determined to secure her ascendancy in Poland, by raising her favourite, Count Stanislaus Poniatowsky, to the throne. With great dexterity she precluded the interposition of France

and Austria, and prevailed on Frederick to second her views, by concluding a treaty of guaranty and alliance, offensive and defensive: the Empress and the King of Prussia jointly engaged to prevent the crown of Poland from becoming hereditary, and by a secret convention, the King covenanted to promote the election of Stanislaus Poniatowsky. All opposition being suppressed by the entrance of the Russian troops into Poland, and the march of the Prussians to the frontiers, the election took place.

C H A P.
VIII.
Mar. 1764.

The Polish nobility enjoyed a privilege called *liberum veto*, by which a single nobleman was enabled to stop the deliberations of the diet, and even dissolve it. To avoid the impediments which might arise from the exercise of this right, the assembly convened for the election of a king, was changed into a diet of confederation, in which the *liberum veto* was suspended, and the questions were decided by a majority of voicesⁿ. Poniatowsky was not chosen by the Poles on his first nomination, without considerable opposition; the violation of their ancient rights occasioned a strong protest, which was signed by twenty-two senators and forty-five nuncios; some of them even took up arms, but were defeated by the Russian troops. Another confederation for the final election being assembled, Poniatowsky was unanimously chosen, and crowned by the name of Stanislaus Augustus.^o

7th May.

3d July.

7th Sept.

A political event which occurred this year in Russia, although it did not affect the state of Great Britain, is yet too interesting to be passed over in silence. Ivan Antonovitch, grandson of Ivan V., joint heir of the crown of Russia with Peter the Great, was considered, at the death of the Empress Anne, undoubted successor of the empire. His infancy favoured the

and Russia.

ⁿ For an account of the constitution of the Polish diet, the *liberum veto*, and mode of electing a king, see Coxe's Travels in Poland, &c. vol. i. c. v. and vi.

^o Œuvres du Roi de Prusse, vol. iv. p. 169, et seq. Life of Catherine II. vol. i. c. iv. Wrexall's Memoirs of the Courts of Berlin, &c. vol. iii. letters 19 and 20.

C H A P. ambitious projects of Elizabeth, who deposed him
VIII. when only a year old. He was afterwards removed
1764. to one place of confinement to another, according
to the dictates of fear or convenience, till at length
he was lodged in the fortress of Schlusselfurg, in a
small vaulted prison, where the light of day never entered.
Two officers were placed in the room as a guard, and they were for some time forbid to converse with him, even to answer the slightest question. He was kept in a state of ignorance, so deplorable as to give room for a report that he was an idiot; yet his claim to the throne was the source of many conspiracies. It was said, that the late Emperor visited him in prison, and, convinced of the injustice done to his understanding, and the validity of his claim to the throne, promised to make him his successor. The insecurity of Catherine's title gave sufficient encouragement to plots, and formed a reasonable basis for alarm and extraordinary precaution; and these sentiments received a new impulse from the detection of a conspiracy in the summer of 1764. Although there was no appearance that the Prince had countenanced this attempt, it was judged necessary to order his guards, in case of a dangerous insurrection, to put him instantly to death. One Vassily Mirovitch, second lieutenant in a regiment, part of which was in garrison at the tower of Schlusselfurg, having formed a wild project of rescuing the Prince from captivity, and placing him on the throne, corrupted about fifty of his soldiers, and made an assault on the prison, with some appearance of success. The conspirators had secured the governor, and were going to force the door of Ivan's dungeon, when it was thrown open, and Mirovitch permitted to enter unmolested. The officers placed with the Prince had consulted together on the emergency, and thinking themselves unable effectually to oppose the insurgents, embraced the dreadful alternative with which they were entrusted. Their unfortunate victim was

asleep ; but being waked by the noise of firing, and hearing the threats of his two assailants, endeavoured to move them with prayers and entreaties. Finding these ineffectual, he gathered strength and courage from despair, made a vigorous resistance, seized one of their swords and broke it : during the struggle, the other stabbed him behind, and threw him down ; he who had lost his sword, now plunged his bayonet into the Prince's body, and both repeated their blows till he expired. Such was the spectacle which saluted the eyes of Mirovitch when he entered the dungeon. He was struck with horror, and no longer thought of self-preservation, but yielded up his sword to the governor, who was yet his prisoner, exclaiming, that he had now nothing to do but die. The conspirators were tried before the senate : Mirovitch was sentenced to death and executed ; the inferior agents were doomed to different degrees of punishment, proportioned to their activity in the enterprize. The fermentation of the public mind on the death of Ivan, shewed that Catherine's fears of a successful insurrection were not ill-founded, and some authors have endeavoured, though without the least apparent foundation, to prove that the whole transaction was a scheme of the Empress, and that she sacrificed her engines to her own reputation.^p

C H A P.

VIII.

1764.

26th Sept.

The events on the continent furnished the leading topics of the King's speech to Parliament. He inferred from them that the nation had reason to expect the duration of that peace which had been so happily established, and which it was his resolution strictly to maintain. In allusion to the state of America, and the project of taxing that part of the British dominions, His Majesty said, " The experience I have had of your former conduct, makes me rely on your wisdom and firmness in promoting that obedience to the laws, and respect to the legislative authority of this king-

10th Jan.

1765.

Meeting of
Parliament.

^p See Life of Catherine II. vol. i. chap. 1 and 4, and Appendix, No. x. Coxe's Travels in Poland, &c. vol. iii.

C H A P.

VIII.

1764.

Taxation of
America.

dom, which is essentially necessary for the safety of the whole; and in establishing such regulations as may best connect and strengthen every part of my dominions for their mutual benefit and support."

The ministry made an offer to the Americans, that any other mode of contributing the sum intended to be raised would be accepted, and the stamp duty laid aside; but the colonial agents rejected this accommodating proposal, replying, that they were ordered to oppose the bill, if brought into the House, by petitions, questioning the right claimed by Parliament to tax the colonies. They were, in fact, eager to enter into a discussion of the principle in dispute, and not to permit any compromise. The minister was determined not to recede from the claim of the British legislature to impose and ascertain the quantum of taxation; but he was willing to leave the mode of contribution to the decision of those who were to contribute.⁹

1765.
7th Feb.

Fifty-five resolutions of the committee of ways and means were agreed to by the House, and afterwards incorporated into an act of parliament for laying nearly the same stamp duties on the colonies in America as were payable in England. This act passed the House of Commons almost without debate, two or three members spoke against it, but without force or apparent interest, except a vehement harangue from Colonel Barre, who, in reply to an observation of Mr. Grenville, in which he described the Americans as children of our own, planted by our care, nourished by our indulgence; said, "Children planted by your care! No! your oppression planted them in America; they fled from your tyranny, into a then uncultivated land, where they were exposed to almost all hardships to which human nature is liable, and yet, actuated by principles of true English liberty, they met all these hardships with pleasure, compared to those they suffered in their own country, from the

⁹ Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 5. Remembrancer, vol. iii. p. 259. See also Burke's Works, 4to. vol. i. p. 365, 545.

hands of those who should have been their friends. They nourished by your indulgence ! They grew by your neglect of them : as soon as you began to care about them, that care was exercised in sending persons to rule over them, who were, perhaps, the deputies of some deputy sent to spy out their liberty, to misrepresent their actions, and to prey upon them; men, whose behaviour, on many occasions, has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them. They protected by your arms ! They have nobly taken up arms in your defence, have exerted their valour amidst their constant and laborious industry, for the defence of a country, whose frontiers, while drenched in blood, its interior parts have yielded all its little savings to your enlargement; and the same spirit which actuated that people at first, will continue with them still ; but prudence forbids me to explain myself further."

C H A P.
VIII.
1765.

There was but one division during the progress of the bill, and then the minority did not amount to more than forty^r. The petitions presented against it, although recommended by an order of council, were not attended to^s, and the House refused to receive four from the agents of Connecticut, Rhode Island, Virginia, and Carolina, and one from the traders of Jamaica^t. In the House of Lords, the act passed without debate, division, or protest^u; and having thus received the sanction of both houses, was ratified by the Royal assent.

15th Feb.

22d Mar.

Early in the session, an attempt was made to obtain a resolution of the House of Commons on the illegality of general warrants ; but after a long and violent debate, the question was lost by a majority of

29th Jan.
Debates on
general
warrants.
4th Mar.

^r Burke's Works, 4to. vol. i. p. 559. It is to be observed, Colonel Barre's speech above quoted is not preserved in Debreit's Parliamentary Collection ; and Burke avers, that he sat in the gallery during the progress of the bill, and never heard a more languid debate. See Burke's Works, ubi sup.

^s Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 366.

^t Idem, p. 547.

^u Idem, p. 559.

C H A P.
VIII.

1765.
On inform-
ations *ex*
officio.
The Isle of
Man an-
nexed to the
realm.

forty only^x. Another motion of a popular nature, for restraining the practice of filing informations *ex officio* by the attorney general, was also negatived.

It was found expedient for the prevention of frauds committed by smugglers, to annex the Isle of Man to the realm. This small territory formed a domain of a singular tenure^y: it was part of the crown, but not of the realm of England: it was under the allegiance of the King, but governed by its own laws and customs. In these respects it resembled Jersey and Guernsey, but in those islands the King appointed governors, and retained the jurisdiction of the admiralty; the superintendence of civil justice vested in the King in council, and he could prosecute a suit in his own name in any of the courts of England; in a word, the prerogatives, royalties, and jurisdiction of those islands vested in the crown, and the writs from the superior courts at Westminster were allowed to operate in them. But in the Isle of Man, the King had no courts, nor officers; and no suits arising there, whether at the instance of the party or of the crown, were determinable in England. It was even doubted if the great prerogative, or mandatory writs, which issue to all places under subjection to the crown of England, would be valid there^z. This singular inheritance had been for nearly four centuries vested by parliamentary charter, in the family of the Duke of Athol.

21st Jan.

In pursuance of an order of the lower house, the chancellor of the exchequer introduced a bill for more effectually preventing the mischiefs arising to the revenue, from the illicit trade to and from the Isle of Man, by which the island was intended to

■ 224 to 184 — Debrett's Collection of Debates, vol. iv. p. 249. 'This debate caused ■ considerable sensation out of the House, and a hand-bill was circulated, in which an eminent lawyer was asserted to have said, "I think it better to fall with the laws than to rise on the ruins of them." Gentleman's Magazine, 1765. p. 94.

■ Fourth Instit. 283.

^z There is no instance of a prerogative writ having been sent and returned from thence: there is no officer to whom it could be directed.

be subjected entirely to the revenue laws of England. C H A P. VIII.

Before the second reading of the bill, the noble proprietor and his duchess presented a moderate and energetic petition : after stating their reluctance to disunite from the honours of their family, this ancient and princely patrimony, the reward of the services and monument of the virtues of their ancestors, they threw themselves with dutiful submission on the pleasure of their sovereign, and the disposal of parliament, and only requested such a compensation, as the importance of the sacrifice to themselves, and of the acquisition to the nation, should seem to demand. They were heard by council, and in consequence of a communication with government, it was thought adviseable that the island should be re-vested in the crown. The sum of seventy thousand pounds was given as a compensation ; and a bill was passed, whereby the whole isle, with all its jurisdictions, interests, and dependencies, was vested in the crown, reserving only to the petitioners their landed property and rights in and over the soil, as lords of the manor, together with the patronage of the bishopric, and other ecclesiastical benefices in the island^a. This act was immediately followed by one for protecting the revenue.

1765.
13th Feb.

6th Mar.

During the session, the King was attacked by an alarming illness: on his recovery, in a speech from the throne, he proposed to the consideration of parliament the expediency of vesting in him the power of appointing, from time to time, by instruments under his sign manual, either the Queen, or any other person of the royal family usually residing in Great Britain, to be guardian of his successor and regent of the kingdom, under proper restrictions, till the successor should attain the age of eighteen.

Regency
act.
24th April.

^a See Blackstone's Commentaries, vol. i. p. 105.—I have been assisted in this account by some accurate private information, and am indebted to the same person for the appendix, which contains a more clear and ample detail of the ancient state of the Isle of Man.

C H A P.
VIII.

1765.
6th May.

To this speech a loyal address was returned, and a bill passed the House of Lords, framed according to the terms of the King's proposition. In the House of Commons, a motion was made for an address, requiring the King specifically to name the person or persons to whom, in case of his decease, he would leave the care of his successor, and the regency of the kingdom. They who supported the motion alleged, that it was not warranted by precedent, or agreeable to the principles of the constitution, to vest those important offices in any person not particularly named and approved of in parliament. This motion being negatived, a question was raised on the construction of the words, "or any other of the royal family." The answer given and sanctioned by the ministry was, that it meant the descendants of George II. Such an interpretation having an obvious tendency to exclude the princess dowager of Wales, could not be supposed agreeable to the King; and on the next reading of the bill, the name of the princess was expressly inserted as an amendment. The debate on this occasion was so violent and acrimonious, that the friends of the princess did not think proper to produce another motion for enabling her to be one of the council of regency. The bill thus amended was returned to the lords, and passed, though not without opposition.^b

9th.

15th.
Insurrection
of silk-
weavers.

On the day when the King in person gave his assent to the regency bill, a mob of journeymen silk-weavers went to St. James's, with black flags, for the purpose of petitioning for relief, under pretence that they were reduced to a state of famine by the encouragement of French silks. They behaved in a most tumultuous manner, surrounding both houses of parliament, and insulting many of the members. They again assembled on the two following days, and proceeded to commit other outrages; but were

^b Parliament was prorogued the 25th of May. The debates are not detailed in a satisfactory manner in any publication.

at length repressed by the posse comitatus and the military, who were called in to aid the civil power. A proclamation was issued for the suppression of riots, and some of the parties were brought to condign punishment.

C H A P.

VIII.

1765.

The ministry had never been popular; and they had now perceptibly lost the King's confidence: their conduct on the regency act betrayed an inclination, if not to oppose, at least not to favour the inclinations of the sovereign. It is even averred, that several posts of honour and emolument were bestowed in opposition to their advice, and without their knowledge, which produced offensive remonstrances, in consequence of which the King, by the recommendation of Lord Bute, determined to dismiss them^c. This account forms part of the fable of Lord Bute's secret influence, which was so long implicitly believed, and which still affords an easy solution of every political problem, for which no satisfactory explanation can be found in the ordinary details of diurnal occurrences.

Negotiations for a change of ministry.

Although it may not be true that Lord Bute interfered in the transactions of the cabinet, yet the jealous apprehension on that subject probably occasioned the ministry to do many things offensive to the King. Lord Temple, both in the House of Lords and in private, had repeatedly condemned Lord Bute's secret influence; he was about this time reconciled to his brother Mr. Grenville, and although they professed the reconciliation to be merely a family transaction, it could not fail of producing a considerable effect on the political conduct of Mr. Grenville.^d

Such was the state of the ministry and their adherents when the Duke of Cumberland entered into a negotiation with Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt, respecting a change, and first applied to Lord Temple for his conditions. The Duke did not object to

15th May.

^c Life of Lord Chatham, vol. i. p. 466.

^d Life of Lord Chatham.

C H A P.

VIII.

1765.
19th.

them; but required that the Earl of Northumberland should be at the head of the treasury: this proposal was not agreeable to Lord Temple, and the conference broke off. The Duke, however, did not yet relinquish the hopes of success: he waited on Mr. Pitt at Hayes, where he was met by Lord Temple, and the subject renewed. Mr. Pitt declared he had no objection to go to St. James's, "if he could carry the constitution with him," but declined all connexion with the Earl of Northumberland. The next day, Lord Frederick Cavendish was sent from the Duke to Mr. Pitt, with a modification of the proposal respecting the Earl of Northumberland, and Mr. Pitt returned the same answer which he had given to the Duke of Cumberland. The situation of first lord of the treasury was then offered to Lord Lyttleton, who desired to consult Lord Temple and Mr. Pitt; and the Duke, convinced that no advantage could be derived from a new negotiation, reported these transactions to the King, advising him to continue his present servants.*

23d May.
Conduct
of the
ministry.

In consequence of this counsel, the King required the ministry to state the conditions on which they would remain in office. A meeting was held in Downing-street, at which the first lord of the treasury, the lord chancellor, the Duke of Bedford, and the Earls of Halifax and Sandwich, were present. At the conclusion of this conference, Mr. Grenville was directed to wait on the King, and state five propositions as the terms of retaining their situations: 1. That Lord Bute should not interfere directly or indirectly in the affairs of government; 2. Mr. Stuart M'Kenzie, Lord Bute's brother, to be dismissed from the office of keeper of the privy seal for Scotland; 3. Lord Holland to be deprived of the paymastership of the forces, which should be bestowed on a mem-

* History of the late Minority, chap. xxi. The public prints at the time noticed the Duke of Cumberland's visit to Mr. Pitt at Hayes. See Gentleman's Magazine, 1765, p. 245.

ber of the House of Commons; 4. The Marquis of Granby to be at the head of the army; and 5. The government of Ireland to be left to the discretionary arrangement of the ministry.^f

C H A P.
VIII.
1765.

The difficulty already experienced in forming a new administration, rendered it necessary to comply in part with these propositions. Mr. Stuart M'Kenzie was dismissed from the privy seal of Scotland, which was given to Lord Frederick Campbell; Charles Townsend was appointed paymaster of the forces; and Lord Weymouth lord lieutenant of Ireland. Still the disunion between the King and the ministry existed in all its extent: a spirit of violence seems to have possessed some members of the cabinet, and urged them personally to insult their sovereign, in a manner which rendered their longer continuance in office impossible^g. All previous attempts to form a new administration failing of success, the King himself sent for Mr. Pitt, and held a conference with him at Buckingham House. In consequence of this interview, Mr. Pitt and Lord Temple had a joint audience, and the King condescended to lay before the two brothers certain propositions for their acceptance. Mr. Pitt seemed disposed to comply with the most important, but required time to deliberate. Lord Temple declared his repugnance to all the conditions, and Mr. Pitt afterward adopted the same sentiments.

Difficulty
of forming
a new ad-
ministra-
tion.
8th June.

20th.

25th.

The Duke of Cumberland being again applied to, negotiated with the Duke of Newcastle for the formation of a new ministry, which was speedily adjusted. The Marquis of Rockingham was placed at the head of the treasury; General Conway was appointed secretary of state, with the management of the House of Commons^h, the other secretary was the Duke of Grafton; the Duke of Newcastle was

Rocking-
ham ministry
formed.
10, 15th
July.

^f From private information.

^g Junius, Letter xxiii. Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 267.

^h Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 136.

CHAP.

VIII.

1765.

lord privy seal; Mr. Dowdeswell chancellor of the exchequer; and the Earl of Hertford lord lieutenant of Ireland. These were the leading men in the new administration, though changes took place in every department. The high popularity of the Duke of Cumberland, who formed this ministry, and the characters of the principal members, promised a great degree of public favour; and one of their first acts, that of making Mr. Pratt, the chief justice of the Common Pleas, a peer, by the title of Earl Camden, was highly gratifying to the people.

Death of
the Duke of
Cumber-
land.

31st Oct.

The Duke of Cumberland, perfectly satisfied with this administration, contributed to their permanency by constantly attending the council, thus assisting them with his advice, and sanctioning their measures by his splendid reputation; but of this inestimable co-adjutor they were soon deprived, by his sudden death. His great popularity, the deserved meed of tried valour and undoubted patriotism, rendered his loss extremely afflicting at this period, when a new ministry was preparing to try the effect of new measures. As their operations were intended to contravene the prejudices and opinions of all other parties, they required, in a peculiar manner, all the support which could be derived from personal estimation. The decease of the Duke was generally deplored as well by the nation as the royal family; and the King sustained an additional loss by the death of his brother, Prince Frederick, who expired in the sixteenth year of his age.

29th Dec.
and of
Prince Fre-
derick.

CHAPTER THE NINTH.

1765 — 1766.

Examination of the motives for opposing the stamp act. — Formation of parties in America. — Exertions of the Presbyterians. — Discontents on the arrival of the stamp act. — Proceedings in Virginia — and in New England. — Preparations for holding a congress. — Combinations against the use of stamps. — Riots at Boston. — Meeting, proceedings, and dissolution of Congress. — The delivery of stamps prevented. — Proceedings of the ministry. — Meeting and recess of parliament. — Consultation of the ministry. — Proceedings in parliament. — Debate on the address. — Measures for repealing the stamp act. — Evidence before the house. — Debates on the declaratory and repealing acts. — Act of indemnity. — Cyder-tax repealed. — General warrants declared illegal. — Other acts of the ministry. — Their feebleness. — Duke of Grafton resigns. — Intrigue of Lord Chancellor Northington. — Overtures made to Mr. Pitt. — His quarrel with Lord Temple. — Mr. Pitt's ministry. — He is made a peer. — Rockingham administration dismissed. — Compliments paid to the Marquis of Rockingham. — Efforts to render Lord Chatham unpopular.

THE stamp act, if considered by itself, and not incumbered with the question relative to the right of Great Britain to tax her colonies, was a wise and equitable measure, and promised a productive revenue. It enjoyed the advantage of being simple, easy of collection, founded on the extended trade and commercial transactions of individuals, justly distributed, and effectually carrying its own powers into execution, without the teasing inspection of officers. The only plausible objection (exclusive of the general principle) arose from the difficulty of obtaining stamps in the interior of the country: it was alleged that the expence, if they were sent by post, would in many cases considerably exceed the value of the stamps themselves; and as many inhabitants could only obtain them by travelling, they would probably be compelled to expend three or four pounds that go-

CHAP.
IX.

Examination
of motives
for opposing
the stamp
act.

C H A P.
IX.

vernment might gain sixpence^a. This objection is strained to the extreme verge of possibility, in order to gain something like a plausible reason for opposing the duty on the ground of expediency. If the persons residing in remote parts of the country were numerous, their transactions would afford employ to a distributor of stamps, within a district of moderate extent; if the smallness of their numbers rendered that appointment unnecessary, their occasions for stamps must have been few, and the return of the demand periodical and certain, so that a provision might without inconvenience be made in advance, like any article of manufacture or consumption. Unexpected events which create a sudden call for stamped papers, can only arise in a mixed society, where rapid changes in circumstances give birth to multiplied transactions, and the sudden and occasional transfer of property, requires constant means of legal security.^b

But admitting the impossibility of supplying the back settlements, or of adjusting the demands of the state to the peculiarities of their situation; the measures adopted to resist the introduction of the stamp duty, demonstrated that not the consideration of its practicability, or of the duty itself, but of the principle of imposing it, formed the sole ground of objection, and that those who had proceeded to the verge of rebellion in their system of opposition, sought this shallow subterfuge as a plausible vindication of their factious conduct.

Formation
of parties in
America.

Exertions of
the Presby-
terians.

The ministry acted imprudently in giving a year's notice of their intention to impose the stamp duty: they allowed time for the accumulation of discontents in America, and for the arrangements of factious men to oppose the law.^c The first effort toward an union of interests was made by the Presbyterians, who were

^a See Franklin's examination before the House of Commons, Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 324.

^b It should be recollected, that at this period the stamp duties, which affect the most frequent transactions of society, such as agreements, promissory notes, bills of exchange, and receipts, were not imposed.

^c Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 366.

eager in carrying into execution their favourite project of forming a synod. Their churches had hitherto remained unconnected with each other, and their union in synod had been considered so dangerous to the community, that in 1725 it was prevented by the express interference of the lords justices. Availing themselves, with great address, of the rising discontents, the convention of ministers and elders at Philadelphia inclosed in a circular letter to all the Presbyterian congregations in Pennsylvania the proposed articles of union.

In this letter the writers complained that, notwithstanding their numbers, "they were considered *as nobody*," and their essential and charter privileges were exposed to the encroachments of evil-minded persons. Other religious societies insulted them for their want of union, and charged the ill-conduct of individuals on the whole body. They, therefore, solicited the adoption of some system which would enable them to act as a body, for the purpose of defending and augmenting their civil and religious privileges. They digested a plan by which a few gentlemen of Philadelphia, with the Presbyterian ministers, should be chosen to correspond with their friends in different parts, to give and receive advice, and consult on measures tending to promote their welfare either as a body, or as connected in particular congregations. A number of persons, termed the most *prudent and public spirited*, in each district of the province and three lower counties, was to be elected for the purposes of corresponding jointly with the ministers in those districts, with one another, and with the gentlemen of Philadelphia. A person was to be nominated in each committee to sign and receive letters in the name of the whole, to convoke the committee, and impart for their deliberation the advice they should obtain. Deputies were to be sent by the committee in each county or district, yearly or half-yearly, to a general meeting of the whole body, to

C H A P. consult and give advice; and each committee to
 IX. transmit to that in Philadelphia their names and
 numbers, with periodical accounts of alterations.

1765.

In consequence of this letter, an union of all the Presbyterian congregations took place in Pennsylvania, and the lower counties. A similar confederacy was established in all the southern provinces, in pursuance of similar letters, written by their respective conventions. These measures ended in the establishment of an annual synod at Philadelphia, where all the Presbyterian congregations in the colonies were represented by their respective ministers and elders, and where all general affairs, political as well as religious, were debated and decided. From this synod, orders and decrees were issued throughout America, and to them a ready and implicit obedience was paid.

The discontented in New England recommended an union of the congregational and Presbyterian interest throughout the colonies. A negotiation took place, which ended in the appointment of a permanent committee of correspondence, furnished with powers to communicate and consult, on all occasions, with a similar committee established by the congregational churches in New England. Thus the Presbyterians in the southern colonies, who, while unconnected in their several congregations, were of little importance, were raised into weight and consequence; and formed a dangerous combination of men, whose principles of religion and policy were equally adverse to that of the established church and government.

By this union, a party was prepared to display their power by resistance, and the stamp law presented itself as a favourable object of hostility. Yet, sensible of their own incompetency to act effectually without assistance, and apprehensive of counteraction from the members of the church of England, and those dissenters who were averse to violence, they strove

1765.

Discontents
on the ar-
rival of the
stamp act.

with the utmost assiduity to make friends and converts among the disaffected of every denomination.^d

The prevailing discontent which extended to the most respectable ranks of society, was favourable to their hopes, and when the news arrived that the stamp act had passed in Great Britain, the measures adopted were conformable to their most sanguine wishes. The act was reprinted, with a death's head affixed, instead of the King's arms, and hawked in the streets at New York, by the title of "England's Folly, and the ruin of America;" the guns at Philadelphia, both in the town and in the barracks, were spiked, by offenders who remained undetected; at Boston, the colours of the shipping were hoisted half-mast; the church-bells were muffled, and tolled a funeral knell; and an alarming ferment generally prevailed.^e

It must afford matter of surprise, that these transactions were viewed with indifference, and, in a certain degree, sanctioned by men in the superior classes of life; but the situation of the colonies, and the manner in which they had been of late considered in England, account for the prevailing spirit of presumption. During the late war, and since the peace, the importance of America had been magnified by all the arts of eloquence, as if the existence of Great Britain, as a commercial nation, depended on the trade with that country. The colonists naturally estimated themselves at no less than they were appreciated by the British parliament. They loudly claimed a total exemption from taxation, which they resolved to obtain by force, if necessary, and were induced by various circumstances to expect success. They hoped to increase the discontents in England, by forbearing to import goods, and by encouraging their own manufactures. The cause assigned for taxing the colo-

^d Historical and Political Reflections on the Rise and Progress of the American Rebellion, by Joseph Galloway.

^e Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 7. Andrews's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 41.

C H A P.

IX.

1765.

nies, a deficiency of resources, led the Americans to expect that it would be impossible for the mother-country to provide and maintain a standing military force; they calculated on a great accession of population from the emigration of unemployed manufacturers; on their own rapid growth, and on the necessary diminution of a British army by desertions: considering also, that the army would be employed, not in conquest, but in maintaining the law against a general and wide-spreading disaffection, they entertained hopes that it would in time relinquish its fidelity, and procure the independency of America.^f

A cogent motive for the attachment and dutiful submission of the colonies was removed by the cession of Canada and the Floridas. The Americans, no longer alarmed by the vicinity of the French and Spaniards, found their own force adequate to their own defence, and felt no weakness or terror to diminish that sense of their importance which numbers, prosperity, and the opinions held in England, contributed to inspire. The virulence of faction in Great Britain produced a correspondent effect in America, where a bold disrespectful mode of eloquence, not deficient in vigour, though totally exempt from refinement, was generally adopted.^g

Proceedings
in Virginia.

To the astonishment of those who considered only the ancient habits of loyalty which had prevailed in Virginia, that colony set the example of authorized opposition to government. This is partly attributed to accident; but the manner in which debates were conducted in their legislature, and the resolutions finally sanctioned, indicated a most alarming and dangerous disposition. The leading men in the assembly, which then happened to be sitting, were

^f These sentiments are forcibly expressed in a letter from a well-informed gentleman at New York to a nobleman in London, dated 8th November, 1765. The whole letter is highly important and interesting, from the ability and candour with which it is written. It is referred to in subsequent parts of the chapter, and printed in the Appendix, No. V.

^g Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 31.

anxious to shew their constituents, that they would not disavow, in their legislative capacity, those sentiments, which as individuals they had inculcated. Although the operation of the stamp act was not to commence till November, the subject was eagerly introduced, and occasioned a violent debate, or rather a series of virulent harangues. One of the members, Patrick Henry, after declaiming with bitterness against the supposed arbitrary measures of the present reign, exclaimed "Cæsar had his Brutus; Charles I. his Oliver Cromwell; and George III. ———." A cry of "treason!" was uttered; the speaker called Mr. Henry to order, and declared he would quit the chair, unless he was supported by the House in restraining such intemperate speeches.^b

When tranquillity was in some degree restored, the House proceeded to frame a set of resolutions, importing that the first settlers in Virginia had brought with them, and transmitted to their posterity, all the privileges and immunities enjoyed by the people of England. By the two charters of James I. the colonists were entitled to all those privileges and immunities. They had enjoyed the right of being *thus* governed by their own assembly, in the article of taxes and internal police, which right had never been forfeited or relinquished, but constantly recognized by the King and parliament of Great Britainⁱ. Therefore the general assembly of Virginia, together with His Majesty or his Substitutes, had in their repre-

29th May.

^b Ibid, vol. i. p. 32.

ⁱ This third resolution wants connexion and explanation. The right of being *thus* governed is claimed without any previous declaration of the mode of government. This is supplied by a resolution which, though rejected by the assembly, was published, and must have formed the third in the series originally moved. It is in these words, "Resolved, That His Majesty's liege people, the inhabitants of this colony, are not bound to yield obedience to any law or ordinance whatsoever, designed to impose any taxation whatsoever upon them, other than the laws and ordinances of the general assembly aforesaid." Another resolution was also presented and rejected, as follows; "Any person who shall, by speaking or writing, maintain that any person or persons, other than the general assembly of this colony, have any right or power to impose or lay any taxation whatsoever on the people here, shall be deemed an enemy to His Majesty's colony."

C H A P.

IX.

1765.

Their as-
sembly dis-
solved.

Conduct
of New
England.

August.
Preparations
for holding a
congress.

Combina-
tion against
the use of
stamps.

Riots.

representative capacity the only exclusive right and power to tax the inhabitants of Virginia ; and every attempt to vest such a power in any person or persons whomsoever, except the general assembly, was illegal, unconstitutional, and unjust, and had a manifest tendency to destroy British, as well as American independence.^k

The governor of Virginia, informed of these proceedings, dissolved the assembly ; but this measure was adopted too late ; their resolves sanctioned opposition in their own province, and formed a precedent which was followed by other legislative bodies

The resolutions, though preceded by such a vehement debate, were too moderate to satisfy the inhabitants of New England, who had in the preceding year manifested a disposition to resist the authority of Great Britain in general, by a resolute assertion of the Rights of Man : the assembly of Virginia cautiously appealed to their charters, proudly considered themselves as British subjects, and left the authority of the mother-country without limits, except in the particulars of taxation and internal police, tacitly acknowledging their right to impose duties on merchandises, and to regulate and restrain commerce.

At the suggestion of the House of Representatives at Boston, several assemblies appointed deputies for a general congress at New York, to which the legislature of each province was to contribute from two to five members, for the purpose of obtaining relief under the insupportable grievance of the stamp act.^l

In this interval, every exertion which interest and resentment could suggest was employed to increase the popular fermentation. The practisers of the law generally resolved to forego their profession rather than make use of stamps. The officers appointed by government to distribute them were compelled by

^k Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 6.

^l See a list of the first congress, Almon's Papers, vol. i. p. 27.

mobs to resign their offices, and undertake never to resume them. These insurrections occurring nearly at the same time in all parts of America, and having the same tendency, manifested a corresponding influence which governed all their motions. The immediate agents were of the lowest class, but evidently guided and protected by their superiors.

The proceedings at Boston, which served as a model for the rest, are thus described: About twilight, a small bonfire was kindled, and surrounded only by a few boys and children: the fire-ward endeavouring to extinguish it, was desired in a whisper, by an unknown person, to desist; not regarding this intimation, he received a blow on the arm, and such other marks of violence as compelled him to withdraw. Soon afterward, a particular whistle and whoop were heard, which served as a signal for the appearance of a great number of persons disguised, and armed with clubs and sticks, who burned the records of the admiralty, and destroyed the houses, furniture and apparel of such public officers as had given offence. The respectable inhabitants disavowed such proceedings; but rewards for the detection of the criminals were tendered in vain, and the governor attempted to induce the militia to assist in preserving the peace without effect.^m

26th Aug.
At Boston.

The intelligence of a change of ministry in England, which transferred the power of government to those who were supposed adverse to the system adopted toward America, is supposed to have given energy to these tumultsⁿ; and the conjecture is rendered more probable from the vote of the freeholders of Boston, that addresses of thanks should be presented to General Conway and Colonel Barré, and their pictures be placed in the town-hall.^o

18th Sept.

^m Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 13, et passim.—Siedman, vol. i. p. 39.

ⁿ Siedman, vol. i. p. 38.

^o Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 16.

C H A P.

IX.

1765.

7th Oct.
Meeting of
congress.

Deputies from nine of the colonies met in congress. The four not represented were New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia. The assembly of New Hampshire promised concurrence in any petition which should be agreed on by the representatives of the other colonies. The assemblies in the other three provinces were not sitting when the letter from Massachusetts Bay arrived, and the governors prevented their meeting, till the day appointed for holding the congress was past. When the commissioners of Boston waited on the governor of New York, he said such a congress was unconstitutional, unprecedented, and unlawful, and he should give them no countenance; he did not, however, attempt to hinder their proceedings.

The members were, in general, men of warm passions; an impatience to return home, and the pride of those who were intrusted with the delicate commission of drawing up their resolves, had a bad effect on their transactions. These persons had not sought proper sources of information before they began to write, nor indeed before the congress was dissolved; and their compositions betray evident marks of hurry and imperfection. They determined on fourteen resolves, a petition to the King, another to the House of Commons, and a memorial to the House of Lords. They would not be persuaded to a full recognition of the authority of parliament in matters of taxation, but professed allegiance to the crown, and *due subordination* to the two houses. By their resolutions, they declared themselves entitled to all the rights of subjects born within the realm of Great Britain. They pronounced it essential to the freedom of a people to be taxed only with their own consent; but the colonies neither were nor could, from local circumstances, be represented in the British House of Commons; their only representatives were in their colonial legislatures; and except by them, no

taxes had been or could be constitutionally imposed. They defined supplies to be gifts, and therefore inferred that the Commons of Great Britain could not constitutionally grant away American property. They claimed trial by jury as the right of the subject; the stamp act, and other acts of trade, tended to subvert that right. The duties lately imposed, they affirmed to be grievous, and the payment impracticable: the profits of their commerce centered in Great Britain, and therefore the inhabitants of America contributed largely to all supplies. The effect of the parliamentary restrictions was such as to prevent them from purchasing the manufactures of Great Britain; but the prosperity of the colonies depended on the enjoyment of their rights, and a mutually beneficial intercourse with the mother-country. They claimed, as subjects, the right of petitioning King, Lords, and Commons, and declared it was their duty, by a loyal address to the King, and humble application to both houses, to procure a repeal of the stamp act, and others restricting trade and extending the admiralty jurisdictions. The acts of the congress concluded, by recommending the colonies to solicit their cause by special agents from each.^p

These proceedings, conducted with a cautious attention to the externals of order and decorum, excited no immediate alarm, but the convocation produced most extensive and prejudicial effects. Their resolutions formed the basis and model of petitions and addresses, which were procured throughout the colonies; and the interchange of opinion inflamed the spirit of opposition, while it destroyed fear of failure by the certain prospect of co-operation and support. "By the meeting of so many deputies at New York," a judicious writer has observed, "a communication was opened, and a correspondence established,

^p Appendix, No. V. See also the proceedings at length, Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 26. — Stedman, vol. i. p. 39 to 42.

C H A P.

IX.

1765.

between the leading men of all the colonies ; and a foundation was thus laid for uniting their common efforts, whenever future circumstances, and the attempt of a future administration, should render it necessary. One effect of the mutual understanding which took place among these leading men was, indeed, discoverable ; for, as soon as they returned to their respective homes, associations were set on foot in all the colonies against the importation of British manufactures^q, such importation to cease after the 1st of January following, until the stamp act should be repealed ; a measure which was probably concerted before they left New York.”^r

The delivery of stamps prevented.

The effects of this determined spirit of opposition were speedily displayed. When ships arrived from England with stamped papers on board, the utmost industry was employed in preventing the unloading of their cargoes, and compelling the officers of government to place the stamps in the custody of persons appointed to prevent their being used. The ships were not secure unless under the guns of men of war, or of forts. From these circumstances, and the resignation of the appointed distributors, on the day assigned for the operation of the act, no stamps could be obtained. The administration of justice was impeded, except in criminal cases, and commerce was suspended by the impossibility of obtaining entries and clearances at the custom-houses, with the legal impost. Some merchants ventured to send their ships on voyages with certificates from the governors, that stamps could not be procured ; and the council and assembly of Massachusetts entered a daring resolution in their books, declaring it lawful to transact business without them.^s

1st Nov.

If the ministry were not convinced that the time

^q This measure did not succeed in the degree that was supposed : designing men, however, took advantage of it, when they had large stores of English goods on hand.

^r Stedman, vol. i. p. 42.

^s Ibid. Andrew's History of the War, vol. i. p. 42.

Observations.

was arrived, or nearly approaching, when the dependence of America on Great Britain must be dissolved, their conduct in tolerating the proceedings of the colonists was highly culpable. If they deemed such a separation now unavoidable, they did not meet the occasion with sufficient magnanimity, nor pursue a system calculated to diminish the danger and injury attending so great a divulsion from the mother-country. It was obvious that so large a body of people, separated by a wide ocean from the immediate effects of resentment, and encouraged by interest, and by the avowed approbation of a numerous and popular party in England, would not desist from a course of opposition, in which their greatest excesses were sanctioned by impunity.

Proceeding
of the mi-
nistry.

9th July.

The ministers were embarrassed with the difficulties of their situation, and equally unprepared for effectual resistance and dignified concession. One of their first measures respecting America was prudent, and if followed by others distinguished for vigour, the result might have been highly beneficial. A minute was entered in the treasury books, importing, that in order to obviate the inconvenience of bringing into Great Britain the money raised in the colonies, it should be received by the deputy paymaster in America, to defray the subsistence of troops, and military expences. The resolutions of the assembly of Virginia were laid before the board of trade, and by them reported to be a dangerous attack on the constitution of Great Britain; and they recommended that orders should be immediately issued for the executive power, and all the officers of government in Virginia, concerned in enforcing the stamp duty, to exert themselves vigourously in supporting the authority of parliament, and with becoming firmness, in exacting a due obedience to the law of the land.

14th Sept.

A council was not held speedily after this resolution of the board of trade; but General Conway,

C H A P.

IX.

1765.

2d Oct.

24th Oct.

17th Dec.

Meeting and
recess of
parliament.

27th Dec.

Consultation
of ministry.

secretary of state for the southern department, wrote to the governor of Virginia a letter of a weak and impolitic tendency. He expressed hopes, that another assembly would adopt decisions different from those transmitted to England, and advised him to make proper representations to the wise and sober part of the people. But even these unimportant and indecisive directions were qualified by an observation, that as the matter was before the privy-council, he should not pretend to give any advice or instructions on the subject. The same irresolution infected the council; they reported to the King, that this was a matter of the utmost importance to the realm and legislature; too weighty for their determination, and only to be discussed in parliament^t. By this declaration, the council declined advising, because the subject was of importance, and referred to parliament for instructions whether obedience to its own acts should be enforced by the executive power. After the holding of the council, General Conway wrote a circular letter to the governors in America, in terms somewhat more decisive, but not sufficiently clear or dignified for the minister of an insulted government, who gives instructions in a critical emergency.

If the advice of the two houses was deemed necessary to sanction the acts of government, the session ought to have been immediately commenced, and proper measures speedily adopted; but the parliament did not assemble till the 17th of December, and separated for the Christmas recess, without transacting any business, except issuing writs to fill up vacancies.

In this interval, a meeting was held at the house of the Marquis of Rockingham, for the purpose of arranging measures against the opening of the session, and particularly with respect to the late transactions in America. Among the persons present, were the Marquis of Rockingham, Lord Egmont, General Conway, Mr. Dowdeswell, the Earl of Dartmouth,

^t See Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 38.

C H A P.

IX.

1765.

and Mr. Yorke. The most effective and dignified advice was to declare, by an act of parliament, the legislative power of Great Britain over America, and inflict penalties of high treason on those who should impeach that authority, either by speaking or writing. The supremacy of the parent-country being thus ascertained, it was recommended to bring in a bill to explain, alter, and amend the stamp act, in such a manner as would render the operation easy, and its provisions unexceptionable. The principal alterations were, that duties should be paid in currency, instead of sterling money; offences against the act tried in courts of record, instead of the court of vice-admiralty; and the merchants relieved, by taking off, or greatly reducing, the stamps on cockets and clearances. But this firm and manly advice did not prevail; the opinions previously delivered by some members of administration, were incompatible with such measures; and although Mr. Dowdeswell, chancellor of the exchequer, produced letters from New York, importing that the money collected from the duty on molasses, had been detained in the colony by the threats and orders of the mob, yet no vigorous measure was resolved on. In fact, nothing was decided, except the terms in which the King's speech should be comprised: and the ministry formed no regular or consistent plan of operation and mutual support.^u

When parliament met before the holidays, the King, in his speech, observed that matters had occurred in some of the American colonies, which demanded the most serious attention of the legislature. After the recess he resumed the topic, and having observed that he had directed the proper papers to be laid before the two houses, said, "No time has been lost on the first advice of these disturbances to issue orders to the governors of American provinces, and commanders of forces,

14th Jan.
1766.Meeting of
parliament.

^u From private information, and minutes of the conference.

C H A P.

IX.

1766.

Debate on
the address.

“ for the exertion of all the powers of government
“ in suppressing riots and tumults, and in the
“ effectual support of lawful authority.” Whatever
remained to be done, was committed to the wisdom
of the legislature.

In the debate on the address, the affairs of America
were amply discussed. The difference of sentiment
which prevailed in the cabinet now became apparent,
and the contest was not properly between ministry
and opposition, but between those who favoured and
those who disavowed the taxation of America. Mr.
Nugent (afterwards Earl of Clare) insisted that the
honour and dignity of the kingdom required a com-
pulsory enforcement of the stamp act, unless the
right of parliament was acknowledged, and the re-
peal solicited as a favour. He computed the expense
of the troops employed in America for their defence
at nine pence in the pound of the land-tax, while
the produce of the stamp act would not raise a
shilling a head on the colonists^x; but a pepper-corn
in acknowledgment of right, was of more value than
millions without that homage.

Arguments
of Mr. Pitt.

Mr. Pitt was conspicuous on the opposite side.
He informed the House, that he was unconnected and
unconsulted; and having desired a second reading of
the speech and address, sarcastically applauded both,
because nothing was decided respecting America, and
every one was left at liberty to assume such part as he
should see fit. He disapproved of the tardiness dis-
played in giving notice to the legislature of the Ame-
rican troubles, which ought to have been imparted
immediately; and condemned, without reserve, every
capital measure of the late ministry. He had no
objection to the present administration; they were
men of fair characters, and such as he was glad to

^x The greatest sum proposed to be raised by the stamp act, was 100,000*l.* per annum. One shilling each from the inhabitants of America, who were computed at two millions and a half, would give 125,000*l.* This calculation, however, is shewn by Lord Sheffield, in his observations on the commerce of the American States, to be grossly exaggerated.

see in His Majesty's service. He had never been made a sacrifice by any of them: some had asked his opinion before they would engage: he had advised them to take official situations, but could not give them his confidence. "Pardon me, gentlemen," he said, bowing to the ministry, "confidence is a plant of slow growth in an aged bosom; youth is the season of credulity. By comparing events with each other, reasoning from effects to causes, methinks I plainly discover the traces of an over-ruling influence. There is a clause in the act of settlement to oblige every minister to sign his name to the advice which he gives to his sovereign. Would it were observed! — I have had the honour to serve the crown, and if I could have submitted to influence, I might have still continued to serve; but I would not be responsible for others. I have no local attachments: it is indifferent to me whether a man was rocked in his cradle on this side or that side of the Tweed. I sought for merit wherever it was to be found. It is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it, and found it in the mountains of the North. I called it forth, and drew into your service an hardy and intrepid race of men! — men who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your enemies, and had gone nigh to overturn the state in the war before the last. These men, in the last war, were brought to combat on your side; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world; — detested be the national reflections against them! they are unjust, groundless, illiberal, unmanly. — When I ceased to serve His Majesty as a minister, it was not the country of the man by which I was moved — but the man of that country wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom."

Mr. Pitt then said, when the resolution was adopted to tax America, he was confined by illness, but so great was the agitation of his mind for the

C H A P.

IX.

1766.

consequences, that if he could have endured to be carried in his bed, he would have solicited some kind hand to lay him down on the floor of the House, that he might bear testimony against it. He hoped an early day would be appointed to consider the state of the nation with respect to America, and that the discussion would be conducted with temper and impartiality. A more important subject never engaged the attention of the House; that only excepted, when, near a century ago, the Commons debated whether they themselves were to be bound or free. In the meantime, as he could not depend on his health for a future day, he should say a few words at present. Leaving the justice, the equity, the policy, and the expediency of the act to another time, he would confine himself to the right, a point which seemed not generally understood. He reprobated the argument of Mr. Nugent, which had a tendency to make it a point of honour. If gentlemen considered it in that light, they left all measures of right and wrong to follow a delusion, which might lead to destruction. He then declared his opinion that *Great Britain had no right to lay a tax upon the colonies*; though, at the same time, he asserted the authority of Great Britain over them, to be sovereign and supreme in every case of legislation. In support of this opinion he said, "The colonists are subjects of this kingdom, equally entitled with yourselves to all the natural rights of mankind, and the peculiar privileges of Englishmen;—equally bound by its laws, and equally participating in the constitution of this free country. The Americans are the sons, not the bastards, of England. Taxation is no part of the governing or legislative power. Taxes are the voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone. In legislation, the three estates of the realm are alike concerned, but the concurrence of the peers and the crown to a tax, is only necessary to clothe it with the form of a law; the gift and grant is of the Commons alone. In ancient days, the crown, the

barons, and the clergy possessed the lands. In those days, the barons and the clergy granted to the crown; they gave and granted what was their own. At present, since the discovery of America, and other circumstances permitting, the Commons are become the proprietors of the land. The church (God bless it!) has but a pittance. The property of the Lords, compared with that of the Commons, is as a drop of water in the ocean; and this House represents those Commons, the proprietors of the lands; and those proprietors virtually represent the rest of the inhabitants. When, therefore, in this House we give and grant, we give and grant what is our own. But in an American tax, what do we do? We, Your Majesty's Commons for Great Britain, give and grant to Your Majesty, what? Our own property?—No; we give and grant to Your Majesty the property of Your Majesty's Commons of America. It is an absurdity in terms. The distinction between legislation and taxation is essentially necessary to liberty. The crown, the peers, are equally legislative powers with the Commons. If taxation be a part of simple legislation, the crown, the peers, have rights in taxation as well as yourselves: rights which they will claim, which they will exercise, whenever the principle can be supported by power. There is an idea in some, that the colonies are virtually represented in the House. I would fain know by whom an American is represented here? Is he represented by any knight of the shire in this kingdom? Would to God that respectable representation were augmented to a greater number! Or, will you tell him that he is represented by any representative of a borough—a borough which perhaps its own representatives never saw.—This is what is called *the rotten part of the constitution*.—It cannot continue a century. If it does not drop, it must be amputated. The idea of a virtual representation of America in this House, is the most contemptible

CHAP. that ever entered into the head of a man. It does
 IX. not deserve a serious refutation. The commoners
 1766. of America, represented in their several assemblies,
 have ever been in possession of the exercise of this,
 their constitutional right, of giving and granting
 their own money. They would have been slaves,
 if they had not enjoyed it. At the same time, this
 kingdom, as the supreme governing and legislative
 power, has always bound the colonies by her laws,
 by her regulations and restrictions, in trade, in navi-
 gation, in manufactures; in every thing except that
 of taking their money out of their pockets without
 their consent. Here I would draw the line, "*quam
 ultra citraque nequit consistere rectum.*"

General
 Conway.

A considerable pause succeeded this remarkable
 speech, which was well calculated to produce an
 animated reply; but no one rising, General Conway
 declared his sentiments were entirely conformable
 to those of Mr. Pitt. He accounted for the tardy
 notice to parliament of the troubles in America, by
 saying, the first accounts were too vague and im-
 perfect to be worthy of notice^y. "An over-ruling
 influence," he said, "has been hinted at. I see
 nothing of it; — I feel nothing of it; — I disclaim
 it for myself, and, as far as my discernment can
 reach, for the rest of His Majesty's ministers."

Mr. Gren-
 ville.

Although Mr. Pitt was so far gratified by General
 Conway's coincidence in opinion, and by some high
 compliments contained in his speech, as to admit the
 validity of his excuse if it was true; Mr. Grenville,
 who spoke in defence of his own measures, was not
 disposed to treat the matter with so much lenity. He
 censured the ministry with great severity for delaying
 to give earlier notice of the disturbances in America.
 He said, "They began in July, and now we are in

^y This assertion of the secretary of state could hardly be correct. The resolu-
 tions of the assembly of Virginia were not vague information; the resolutions en-
 tered into by the other assemblies to form a congress were clearly announced; and
 the minute of council of the 3d October shews that the ministry did not consider
 these matters of small importance.

the middle of January ; lately they were only occurrences, they are now grown to disturbances, to tumults and riots. I doubt they border on open rebellion ; and if the doctrine of this day be confirmed, that name will be lost in revolution. The government over them being dissolved, a revolution must take place in America. I cannot understand the difference between external and internal taxes. They are the same in effect, and only differ in name. That this kingdom has the sovereign, the supreme legislative power over America, is granted ; it cannot be denied : and taxation is a part of that sovereign power. It is one branch of legislation. It is, and it has been, exercised over those who are not, who never were represented. It is exercised over the East India Company, the merchants of London, the proprietors of the stocks, and over the great manufacturing towns. It was exercised over the palatinate of Chester, and the bishopric of Durham, before they sent any representatives to parliament. I appeal for proof to the preambles of the acts which gave them representatives : the one in the reign of Henry VIII. the other in that of Charles II.” Mr. Grenville then quoted the acts, and desired they might be read ; which being done, he continued : “ When I proposed to tax America, I repeatedly asked the House if any objection could be made to the right ; but no one attempted to deny it. Protection and obedience are reciprocal. Great Britain protects America : America is bound to yield obedience. If not, tell me when the Americans were emancipated ? When they want the protection of this kingdom, they are always ready to ask it ; that protection has always been afforded them in the most full and ample manner. The nation has run itself into an immense debt to give them protection ; and now they are called upon to contribute a small share towards the public expense,—an expense arising from themselves,—they renounce your authority, insult your officers, and break out, I might

C H A P.

IX.

1766.

almost say, into open rebellion. The seditious spirit of the colonies owes its birth to the factions in this House. Gentlemen are careless of the consequences of what they say, provided it answers the purposes of opposition. We were told we trod on tender ground; we were bid to expect disobedience. What was this, but telling the Americans to resist the law,—to encourage their obstinacy with the expectation of support from hence? Let us only persevere for a short time, they would say, our friends will soon be in power. Ungrateful people of America! Bounties have been extended to them: when I had the honour of serving the crown, while you yourselves were loaded with an enormous debt, you have given bounties on their lumber, on their iron, their hemp, and many other articles. You have relaxed, in their favour, the act of navigation, that palladium of British commerce: and yet I have been abused in all the public papers as an enemy to the trade of America. I have been particularly charged with giving orders and instructions to prevent the Spanish trade, and thereby stopping the channel by which alone North America used to be supplied with cash for remittances to this country. I defy any man to produce any such orders or instructions. I discouraged no trade but what was illicit, what was prohibited by act of parliament. I was above giving an answer to anonymous calumnies; but in this place it becomes me to wipe off the aspersion."

Mr. Pitt in
reply.

When Mr. Grenville ceased speaking several members rose, but Mr. Pitt appearing to be one of the number, the others receded, and the House clamorously required that he should be heard. In his exordium, Mr. Pitt observed, he only meant to have thrown out a few hints on the right of taxation, which was at least equivocal, but since Mr. Grenville had gone into the justice, the equity, the policy, the expediency of the stamp act, he would follow him through the whole field, and combat his arguments

on every point. This declaration produced an objection on the point of order, but that question being decided in Mr. Pitt's favour, he, by desire of the House, thus proceeded: "I have been charged with giving birth to sedition in America. Sorry I am to hear the liberty of speech in this House imputed as a crime. But the imputation shall not discourage me. It is a liberty I mean to exercise. No gentleman ought to be afraid to exercise it. It is a liberty by which the gentleman who calumniates it might have profited. He ought to have profited. He ought to have desisted from his project. The gentleman tells us America is obstinate; America is almost in open rebellion. I rejoice that America has resisted. Three millions of people, so dead to all the feelings of liberty, as voluntarily to submit to be slaves, would have been fit instruments to make slaves of the rest. I come not here armed at all points with law cases and acts of parliament, with the statute-book doubled down in dog-eared, to defend the cause of liberty. If I had, I myself would have cited the two cases of Chester and Durham; I would have cited them to shew, that, even under arbitrary reigns, parliaments were ashamed of taxing a people without their consent, and allowed them representatives. Why did the gentleman confine himself to Chester and Durham? He might have taken a higher example in Wales — Wales, that never was taxed by parliament, until it was incorporated."

Mr. Pitt then deprecated the consideration of the question as a mere point of law, for which he acknowledged his inability, but wished it might be discussed on a constitutional principle; that being a ground on which he stood firm, and could boldly meet any man. He distinguished between the Americans who were not, and could not be represented in parliament, and the merchants, stockholders, and manufacturers who were represented, or might be if they would. He recapitulated the names and characters of the chief ministers since the Revolution;

C H A P.

IX.

1766.

none of whom, he said, ever thought or dreamed of robbing the colonies of their constitutional rights. There were not wanting some who had endeavoured to persuade him, when minister, to burn his fingers with an American stamp act; and perhaps, under the then circumstances, they might have submitted, but it would have been taking an unjust and ungenerous advantage.

“ I am no courtier of America;” he said, “ I stand up for this kingdom. I maintain that the parliament has a right to bind, to restrain America. Our legislative power over the colonies is sovereign and supreme. When it ceases to be sovereign and supreme, I would advise every gentleman to sell his lands, if he can, and embark for that country. When two countries are connected together, like England and her colonies, without being incorporated, the one must necessarily govern; the greater must rule the less; but so rule it, as not to contradict the fundamental principles that are common to both. There is a plain distinction between taxes levied for the purposes of raising a revenue, and duties imposed for the regulation of trade, for the accommodation of the subject; although, in the consequences, some revenue might incidentally arise from the latter. The gentleman asks, when were the colonies emancipated? I desire to know when they were made slaves? But I dwell not upon words.”

Mr. Pitt then asserted that the profits to Great Britain from the trade of the colonies, through all its branches, were two millions a year. “ This was the fund which carried us triumphantly through the last war. This is the price America pays for protection. And shall a miserable financier come with a boast, that he can fetch a pepper-corn into the Exchequer, by the loss of millions to the nation! I am convinced,” he added, “ the whole commercial system of America may be altered to advantage: you have prohibited where you ought to have encouraged; and you have

encouraged where you ought to have prohibited. Improper restraints have been laid on the Continent in favour of the Islands. Let the acts of parliament in consequence of treaties remain, but let not an English minister become a custom-house officer for Spain, or for any foreign power. Much is wrong; much may be amended for the general good of the whole. The gentleman must not wonder he was not contradicted, when, as minister, he asserted the right of parliament to tax America. I know not how it is, but there is a modesty in this House which does not choose to contradict a minister. Even your chair, Sir, looks too often towards St. James's. I wish gentlemen would think better of this modesty. If they do not, perhaps the collective body may begin to abate of its respect for the representative. A great deal has been said without doors of the power, of the strength of America. It is a topic that ought to be cautiously meddled with. In a good cause, on a sound bottom, the force of this country can crush America to atoms. But on this ground, on the stamp act, when so many here will think it a crying injustice, I am one who will lift up my hands against it; in such a cause your success would be hazardous. America, if she fell, would fall like the strong man; she would embrace the pillars of the state, and pull down the constitution along with her." Mr. Pitt, deprecating too much severity in judging the conduct of the Americans, said, "I acknowledge they have not acted in all things with prudence and temper: they have been wronged; they have been driven to madness by injustice. Will you punish them for the madness you have occasioned? Rather let prudence and temper come first from this side. I will undertake for America, that she will follow the example. There are two lines in a ballad of Prior, on a man's behaviour to his wife, so applicable to you and your colonies, that I cannot help repeating them;

"Be to her faults a little blind:

"Be to her virtues very kind——"

C H A P.

IX.

1766.

In conclusion, he gave it as his opinion, that the stamp act should be repealed absolutely, totally, and immediately; and the reason assigned, that it was founded on an erroneous principle. "At the same time," he added, "let the sovereign authority of this country over the colonies be asserted, in as strong terms as can be devised, and be made to extend to every point of legislation; that we may bind their trade, confine their manufactures, and exercise every power, except that of taking their money without their consent."

The address was carried without division^y. In the course of this debate, it was affirmed that the ministry encouraged the numerous petitions which were presented to the House for a repeal of the stamp act. The same assertion has been repeated by other writers^z, and wears an appearance of truth, as the ministry were determined to effect that favourite measure, although the manner of carrying it into execution was left undecided.

Having formed this resolution, they would have acted with greater dignity and propriety in dissolving the parliament. The same House of Commons, by annulling all their former acts, exposed themselves to ridicule; and all those who had supported, from principle, the measures of the late ministry, would be ready to join in a rancorous and inveterate opposition. Even some who voted with the administration, and declared opinions favourable to the repeal of the stamp act, attributed their conviction solely to the

^y This debate is given at an unusual length from its great importance. It is to be found in Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 288, and in the Life of Lord Chatham, vol. i. p. 497, where the editor states that the speeches were taken by Sir Robert Dean, assisted by the Earl of Charlemont. The whole debate was published in the year 1766, in the form of a pamphlet, intitled, "Political Debates;" and to evade the resentment of the House, the place of impression was said to be Paris. Mr. Pitt's speeches do honour to his abilities as an orator, but not to his wisdom as a politician, or his prudence as a senator. Mr. Burke made his first parliamentary exertion in this debate, and acquired the applause of Mr. Pitt; but no account of his speech is yet given to the public.

^z See Lord Nugent's speech, Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 288. Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 45.

arguments of Mr. Pitt, who accompanied those arguments with a declaration that the ministers did not possess his confidence. Hence a strong opposition party was formed, and the ministers were open to attack on all sides. Their efforts for the repeal of the stamp act were attributed to motives utterly inconsistent with the independence which marked their characters; it was even asserted that they were *bullied into* that measure by Mr. Pitt^a. On the whole, although the Rockingham administration was composed of men, who, in themselves and their connexions in both Houses of Parliament, united a large portion of ability and character, yet their strength was so doubtful, that the nation could not with confidence expect their stability and permanency. They did not possess the esteem of the court, were opposed by a strong party in parliament, and the respect of the people towards them, as individuals, was diminished by the opposition of Mr. Pitt, and the notion, which was diligently inculcated, that by separately accepting official situations, they enfeebled the true Whig interest.

The utmost concession agreeable to the views of those who were strenuous in supporting the authority of Great Britain, was a partial repeal, or modification, of the stamp act. Those who followed the principles laid down by Mr. Pitt, demanded a total relinquishment of the measure, and that the assertion of the supreme authority of Great Britain should be accompanied with an humiliating declaration. The ministry pursued a middle course; they resolved to repeal the tax, without specifying their reasons, but, at the same time, to declare the undoubted right of parliament to make laws binding the British colonies in all cases.^b

To establish the propriety of these measures, witnesses were examined, and particularly Dr. Franklin. His testimony, which deserves great attention,

C H A P.
IX.
1766.

21st Jan.
Evidence
before the
House.

^a Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 553.

^b Ibid, p. 550.

C H A P.

IX.

1766.

tended to prove the stamp duty in every respect impolitic, and injurious to the country; that the Americans would never submit to it, however modified, unless compelled by arms. He was of opinion, that the colonists would be satisfied with the repeal, even though an act should be passed declaring the right of parliament to impose taxes at pleasure; but the assemblies would never be induced, either by kindness or compulsion, to rescind their resolutions.

On application for leave to bring in a bill to *repeal* the stamp act, a motion to substitute the words *explain and amend* was over-ruled. The minority was numerous and respectable, both for talents and property^c. Repealing and declaratory bills were introduced; they were carefully moulded in a committee, which sat six weeks; and after passing the House of Commons, though not without strong debates and divisions, were sent up to the Lords.

In the upper House, Lord Camden made a strenuous speech against the declaratory bill. He averred, that taxation and representation are inseparable; this, he said, was no novelty; it did not originate in Edward's or in Henry's reign, but was coeval with the constitution. "There is not," he said, "a blade of grass, growing in the most obscure corner of this kingdom, which is not, which was not ever, represented, since the beginning of the constitution; there is not a blade of grass which, when taxed, was not taxed by the consent of the proprietor." He spoke with enthusiastic, but perhaps exaggerated admiration, of Locke's principle, that the supreme power cannot take from any man any part of his property without his own consent; and refused his assent to any bill for taxing the American colonies, while they remained unrepresented.

The repealing act met with a still more determined opposition. On the second reading, an interesting debate took place, and the majority, on the division,

^c For the amendment 167, against 275.

Debates in
the Lords
on the de-
claratory
act.

On the re-
pealing act,
11th Mar.

was, by no means, flattering to the ministry^d. A masterly protest was entered on the journals by thirty-three peers. On the third reading, there was a similar debate, and a new protest, of equal force, signed by twenty-eight.

C H A P.

IX.

1766.
17th Mar.

In addition to those two bills, another was passed for indemnifying those who had transacted business, and giving validity to writings executed without stamps. Acts were likewise framed for repealing several duties, for securing the trade of America, and opening free ports in Jamaica and Dominica.

Act of in-
demnity.

Petitions having been presented from the counties affected by the excise on cider, praying for relief, a committee of ways and means ordered a bill for repealing so much of that law as affected private persons; which afterwards passed.^e

26th Feb.
Cider act
repealed.

The question of general warrants was resumed under the auspices of the ministry, and occasioned several debates and motions. It was at length resolved, after various amendments, that "a general warrant for seizing and apprehending any person or persons, being illegal, except in cases provided for by the act of parliament, is, if executed on a member of the House of Commons, a breach of privilege." A bill to restrain the issuing of warrants for seizing papers, except in cases of treason or felony without benefit of clergy, under certain regulations, went through the House of Commons, but was thrown out by

22d April.
General
warrants
declared
illegal.
25th.

29th.

■ Contents 105, non-contents 71.

■ This repeal appears rather to have been an attempt to gain popularity, than a measure of sound judgment. Lord North, at a subsequent period (18th May, 1774), speaking of the opposition to this tax, and the motives for its repeal, used the following expressions: "Let gentlemen on the other side of the House reflect on a tax which was laid, upon the maturest consideration, on a consumption not taxed before, called for by every rule of equality, and so light, though at the same time productive, that scarcely any body could feel it. Every gentleman will see I mean the cider tax, that tax, against which there never were two syllables of common sense urged, was repealed upon the cry of liberty being in danger; the exciseman will invade our houses, castles if you please; yet a small composition would have kept out the exciseman, so that to a gentleman of four thousand pounds a year, the payment would have amounted only to forty shillings a year. Unhappily, however, for this country, the cider counties gave us financiers, and the tax was repealed."

CHAP.

IX.

1766.

the Lords. An attempt was made to introduce another bill, for preventing the seizure of persons by general warrants, but failed of success. The result of these proceedings was merely this; the House of Commons agreed with the judges on the illegality of apprehending any person by a general warrant, in cases of mere constructive delinquency, and therefore declared that a member of Parliament, so illegally apprehended, had a right to complain of a breach of privilege.

Act for
restraining
the importa-
tion of silks.
14th May.

An act for restraining the importation of foreign silks occasioned a joyful and numerous procession of the Spital-fields weavers; and, as a scarcity of corn was apprehended, measures were taken to insure a more copious provision, to prevent exportation, and to enforce the laws against monopoly, forestalling, and regrating.^f

Other acts
of the mi-
nistry.

Beside these parliamentary transactions, the ministry concluded a commercial treaty with Russia; obtained from France a liquidation of those bills, which since the cession of Canada were left in an unsettled state; revised, and put in a train of satisfactory adjustment, the long deferred Manilla ransom; and made vigorous remonstrances to the court of France for the demolition of Dunkirk harbour, which produced some effect.^g

Their fee-
bleness.

But, although many of these acts were important, and apparently calculated to gratify the public, the administration was not popular. They were considered by some as officious intruders, who weakened the true Whig interest, by keeping Mr. Pitt out of place^h; by others, as mere engines, employed to annul some late unpopular measures, but who dared not pursue an independent system of conduct, and who, in affecting to counteract Lord Bute's plans, did not venture to remove his agents from their posts.ⁱ

^f Debrett's Debates. Journals. The parliament was prorogued the 16th June.

^g Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 254. 385.

^h See Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 358.

ⁱ Observations on the late and present Administration, 1765.

It was obvious, on the prorogation of parliament, that the ministry would not long retain their station. Even before that period they appeared to have adopted a system, and a mode of conduct, which was not agreeable to the Sovereign. One cause of offence was the delay in applying to parliament for a provision for the King's younger brothers. The ministers had given strong hopes of obtaining it, but afterwards, through inattention or embarrassment, omitted carrying their promises into effect, till the committee of supply was closed.^k

Sensible that administration possessed neither extensive popularity, nor the confidence of the Crown, the Duke of Grafton resigned the seals of secretary of state, which being refused by Lord Hardwicke, were delivered to the Duke of Richmond; Lord Hardwicke, however, accepted a seat in the cabinet, and thus lent his aid to the administration, although he declined a situation attended with emolument. The Duke of Grafton justified his resignation by declaring that the ministry wanted strength to guide the helm with success; he did not object, he said, to their persons, or proceedings, but was convinced Mr. Pitt alone could give strength and solidity to government. Under him, he would be willing to serve in any capacity, not exclusively as a general officer, but even as a pioneer, and would take up a spade or a mattock. Actuated by the same sentiments, several other persons, of great talents and popularity, refused offices tendered by the ministry; and surely, considering these circumstances, it ill became the Rockingham administration to attribute their loss of power to a cabal, a *double cabinet*, or a closet junto; especially after General Conway's declaration that he neither knew, saw, nor felt a secret influence.^l

Duke of
Grafton
resigns.

The immediate cause of the dismissal of the ministry is attributed to an intrigue of the Lord Chancellor,

Intrigue of
the Lord
Chancellor.

^k From private information.

^l See *Thoughts on the Cause of the Present Discontents*, Burke's Works, vol. i. *passim*, and particularly p. 440.

C H A P.

IX.

1766.

June.

Northington, who had long contemplated their feeble state, and meditated their overthrow. Soon after the prorogation of parliament, the affairs of Canada occupied the attention of the council. The proclamation issued in 1764, by which all the laws of Great Britain were introduced into the new acquisitions, occasioned great confusion and discontent. The natives complained that their laws of property were overturned, and new ones established, to the principles of which they were strangers, and even unacquainted with the language in which the decisions of the judges were to be pronounced. Lieutenant-General Murray, governor of the province, had framed several *ordonnances* in pursuance of the proclamation, but the board of trade, in their report, considered them injudicious, and some new regulations were evidently necessary. The papers relative to these disputes had, according to custom, in the course of the winter, been transmitted from the council office to Messrs. Yorke and De Grey, the attorney and solicitor general, who, from that and other information which they collected, prepared a report for the consideration of the cabinet. This report contained a plan for the civil government of Quebec; the principal feature of which was, to leave to the natives their ancient rights of property, or civil laws, and to temper the rigour of their criminal code, by the more equitable and liberal system of English jurisprudence. At the first meeting of the cabinet to consider this subject, which took place at the Lord Chancellor's house, he declared an entire disapprobation of the report, objected to some particular regulations, and gave his opinion, that no proposition should be sanctioned by the cabinet, until they had procured a complete code of the laws of Canada; a suggestion which would occasion a delay of a whole year: he also complained of some slight instances of inattention which he had experienced: the meeting was dissolved without forming any definitive resolution, and before a new one could be con-

C H A P.

IX.

1766.

vened, the Lord Chancellor declared his resolution to attend no more. The rest of the cabinet, considering the business of sufficient importance to demand their immediate attention, held two more meetings at the Duke of Richmond's house, at Whitehall. The attorney-general, who had principally framed the report, and the solicitor-general, assisted; Mr. Yorke gave the cabinet ample information on the principles by which he was guided, and obviated every objection to the final adoption of his plan, by proposing that it should be sent to Quebec for the inspection of Governor Carleton, and the colonial crown-lawyers, and submitted to their consideration, with instructions to return it corrected according to their judgment, with a complete code of the laws and *ordonnances* of Canada. At the last of these cabinet councils, every difficulty appeared to be obviated; Lord Egmont, who recommended the measure of consulting the attorney and solicitor general, went out of town, declaring his willingness to confide his judgment to their decision; and the attorney-general himself, conceiving his presence no longer requisite, retired into the country. At this period the stability of the ministry was extremely doubtful; but as the private intentions of the Chancellor were not known, their immediate dismissal was not expected.

4th July.

The day succeeding the last cabinet council, the Lord Chancellor, at an audience, informed the King, that the ministry could not retain their situations, declined attending any more cabinet meetings, and refused, under such circumstances, to hold the great seal.^m

The resolution to dismiss the ministry was speedily adopted, and the eyes of the court were naturally turned to Mr. Pitt, whose popularity continued undiminished, and who had recently acquired a large estate from the bequest of Sir William Pynsent. The negotiation was opened by offering a *carte blanche*;

Overtures made to Mr. Pitt.

12th.

^m From private information.

C H A P.

IX.

1766.
15th.16th.
Mr. Pitt
quarrels
with Lord
Temple.

and General Conway, who retained his situation of secretary of state, assisted in making the new arrangement.

When Mr. Pitt, thus assisted, had formed an administration, Lord Temple was invited to a conference with the King, and Lord Northington. The next day he saw Mr. Pitt, who said, that considering his lordship indispensable, he had requested the King to send for him, and make him first lord of the treasury, and at the same time produced a list of persons who were to take places under them, which, he added, was not to be altered. Lord Temple, hurt at this peremptory declaration, complained of ungenerous treatment, and intimated that he could not accept a situation of high responsibility, unless he had, at least, an equal share of power with Mr. Pitt. During the conference, Lord Temple exerted every effort to effect an accommodation : he conceded that his brother, Mr. Grenville, should support the ministry without either place or influence: he nominated Earl Gower and Lord Lyttleton to official situations, but they being positively rejected, he said this conduct shewed Mr. Pitt's determination to be sole and absolute dictator, to which he would not submit, and closed the conference with some severe observations on Mr. Pitt's want of generosity and kindness.ⁿ

Thus was dissolved, in anger, that connexion between the two brothers, ^{in later} which had subsisted so many years; which was fortified by a participation of official honours and public acclamations; which was considered too firm for chance, and rather to be strengthened than enfeebled by time.^o

ⁿ Lloyd's Inquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honourable Commoner, from which the account of this transaction is copied into the Life of Lord Chatham.

^o Their cordial intimacy was mentioned in a publication at the beginning of the year, in these terms: "As to Lord T. and Mr. P. they have ever since their dismissal lived in such a state of the warmest friendship for, and entire confidence in, each other, as does honour to the greatness of their minds, and that true love of their country, which is the only ruling principle of both their actions. "And for the comfort and satisfaction of the public, I will add, that the cor-

Divested of so respectable a coadjutor, Mr. Pitt proceeded in the formation of a ministry, though aware of being embarrassed by difficulties hitherto unforeseen. But the greatest difficulty arose from his own ardent and decisive temper, aggravated, probably, by sufferings arising from ill-health. The consciousness of his great talents, which had so long secured to him an unlimited ascendancy in the councils of the nation, rendered him bold in his undertakings, and confident in his powers; but he was at the same time lofty, inflexible, and ungracious. A kindness, offered by him, was scarcely less mortifying than a refusal from persons endowed with greater suavity of demeanor. The bad effects of this failing had been counteracted by the more affable manners of Lord Temple; but Mr. Pitt now found that it subjected him to many mortifications; in selecting a cabinet, he had no resource in his own mind, and no mode of conciliating the esteem, or satisfying the expectations of his coadjutors, but by the distribution of pensions.

C H A P.
IX.
1766.

The arrangements were at length made; the Duke of Grafton, not destined to carry a mattock, but to appear as a general officer, was placed at the head of the treasury. Charles Townshend was constituted chancellor of the exchequer, and intrusted with the management of the House of Commons. Lord Shelburne was appointed secretary of state for the southern department. Lord Camden, Mr. Pitt's chosen friend, and constant adherent, was raised to the high office of lord chancellor. The Earl of Northington, thus deprived of the great seal, succeeded the Earl of Winchelsea as president of the council. The Marquis of Granby was placed at the head of the army. Mr. Pitt, though in fact the leader of the administration,

Mr. Pitt's
ministry.

“diality which subsists between them is sincere and unalterable, notwithstanding
“the many sinister and infamous attempts to divide them, contrived by the favourite
“and the present ministers.”

C H A P. took only the office of lord privy seal: he was
IX. created a peer by the title of Earl of Chatham.^p

1766.
30th.
He is made
■ peer.
Rocking-
ham admini-
stration dis-
missed.

On the conclusion of these arrangements the Rockingham administration were dismissed; they retired from their offices at the express command, as they had accepted them at the earnest request, of their royal master^a. Their expulsion was no less ungracious than sudden, as they were accused of no fault or error in conduct, and they had the mortification of seeing many of their subalterns, and those whom they had brought into place, follow the standard of their rivals; the example being set by General Conway.

Compli-
ments paid
to the Mar-
quis of
Rocking-
ham.

The Marquis of Rockingham's retreat produced some exhibitions of regret, and a few attempts to render his exit illustrious; but they were merely personal and local, being confined to those classes of society who were principally benefited by his administration, and to those districts where his influence particularly prevailed.

Efforts to
render Lord
Chatham
unpopular.

Lord Chatham was assailed with all the virulence of party malice. He, who was lately accused of bullying the Marquis of Rockingham, was now decried for crouching to Lord Bute; he who had resigned an official situation, because he would not be responsible for measures which he could not guide, was now supposed the willing agent of men whom he did not approve. Though he had recently declared in parliament, that he could not submit to be minister, where

^p Lord Northington, as ■ compensation for the difference between the presidency of the council and the more honourable and lucrative post of Chancellor, received a pension of 2000*l.* in addition to the salary annexed to his new situation; a pension of 4000*l.* for life from the period of his dismissal from the presidency; and ■ reversionary gift of the office of clerk of the hanaper in Chancery for two lives after the death of the Duke of Chandos. Lord Camden, as an indemnity for the loss he might sustain by sacrificing an establishment for life as chief justice of the Common Pleas, to one of more precarious tenure, obtained a reversion of the first tellership of the exchequer which should become vacant, for his son, and a grant of 1500*l.* a year on the Irish establishment, to commence from the period when his son became teller of the exchequer. Mr. De Grey was made attorney-general; and Mr. Willes solicitor-general.

^a Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 255.

he felt an over-ruling influence, and that his objection to Lord Bute was personal, and not national, he was now decried as the dupe of Lord Bute, and contemptuously reproached with being caught in a Scotch trap. The city of London, where he had so lately been idolized, repeatedly declined presenting an address on his appointment^r. Every engine of calumny was employed to render his conduct odious; his peerage was a never-failing source of invective; his quarrel with Lord Temple was unsparingly discussed; and a pamphlet of considerable size was formed by the republication of paragraphs which appeared against him in the newspapers, on this single occasion.

^r Lloyd's Inquiry into the Conduct of a late Right Honourable Commoner.

CHAPTER THE TENTH.

Retrospective view of the affairs of India. — Origin of territorial acquisition by the Europeans. — Hostilities between the French and English. — Arrangements at the peace. — Disputes of the native princes. — Destruction of Delhi. — Independence of the nabobs established. — Affairs of the Carnatic — and of Bengal. — Intrigues of Jaffier Ally. — Siege of Patna by the Shah Zaddah. — Treachery of the young nabob, Jaffier's son. — His misconduct, and sudden death. — Position of Mir Jaffier's affairs. — The Shah Zaddah declared Great Mogul. — Interview of the British council with Cossim Ally, Jaffier's son-in-law, at Calcutta. — Expedition to Moorshedabad. — Revolution in Bengal. — Jaffier deposed. — Cossim proclaimed nabob.

CHAP.

X.

Retrospec-
tive view of
the affairs of
India.

THE events of the last war, the convulsed state of India, and some recent transactions, produced a material change in the nature and objects of the East India Company : a commercial society was raised into a territorial power, and instead of depending on the native princes for protection, or permission to exercise commerce, became regulators of their politics, and arbiters of their destiny.

Such a change, which gave unbounded wealth to numerous individuals, and so large a share of importance to a chartered commercial association, could not fail of exciting the attention of the public; and the affairs of the East India Company, from an early period of the present reign, formed a leading subject in the contemplations of statesmen, and in the speculations of politicians.

The acquisition of territorial power in India by the European traders was of recent date, and originated with the French. Dupleix, the governor of their forces in India, about the year 1748, was anxious to

Origin of
territorial
acquisition.

secure to his country the commercial and political advantages arising from the possession of a landed settlement. He commanded a larger number of troops than was usually employed by the Europeans in India; and, having ascertained the dispositions and interests of the native sovereigns, commenced the execution of his magnificent project. The subahship of the Decan and the nabobship of the Carnatic both becoming vacant, he eagerly embraced the opportunity of raising two princes to those situations, from whose gratitude, dependence, or feebleness, he formed great expectations. By the exertions of Dupleix, Salabat Jing was made a subahdar of the Decan, and Chunda Saib, nabob of the Carnatic.

Since the death of the great Emperor Aurengzebe^a, the Mogul empire had been torn by domestic distractions, and desolated by ferocious invasions; and the circumstances in which it was placed at this period were peculiarly favourable to the designs of Dupleix. The people of Delhi were not recovered from the dreadful devastations of Nadir Shah, the Persian^b, when new irruptions succeeded, and the authority of the descendants of Timur was reduced to the lowest ebb, by the assumed independence of the governors of provinces, who refused to yield tribute, or own subjection, to the monarch from whom their power was originally derived. These claims of independence began in the reign of Mahomed Shah^c. The weakness of his successor Ahmed Shah, combined with the embarrassments to which he was subjected from the formidable attacks of Achmet Abdalla, a fortunate and valiant rebel, afforded the different subahdars and nabobs the means of consolidating their power, and rendering themselves superior to control.^d

In the early years of Ahmed's reign, Dupleix first exerted himself in obtaining territorial possessions in

Distractions
of the Mo-
gul empire.

^a In 1707.

^b In 1738.

^c He died in 1747.

^d Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii. Appendix.

C H A P.
X.

Ambition of
the French.

Hindustan, and, for that purpose, disposed of two governments to princes whom he employed as mere engines to forward the schemes which flattered his ardent imagination.

His views were fully answered by the cession of Pondicherry, Masulipatam, and various provinces and islands, which made the French East India Company masters of the coast for the space of six hundred miles, and put them in possession of a tract of country more extensive than all the dominions which their King possessed in Europe. These acquisitions increasing the ambition and cupidity of the French, they meditated a monopoly of Indian commerce, and formed projects for the expulsion of the other European colonists.^c

But the assumption of such advantages by a power so restless and intriguing, could not be regarded with indifference by the other European nations, who were equally interested in maintaining a certain share of influence in India, and who saw, with regret and terror, the progress of a scheme, which tended to make the whole Mogul empire a dependency of France.

Hostilities
between
them and
the English.

Hostilities were soon commenced between the French and British forces; but the two countries being then at peace, they did not engage as principals, but as auxiliaries to the different potentates of India^f, whose quarrels they affected to espouse, for the sake of concealing their own views. In opposition to Chunda Saib, whom Dupleix had nominated nabob of the Carnatic, Saunders, the English governor, set up Mahomed Ally, and in the names of those two native princes, the European rivals sought to distress and subdue each other.^g

^c Raynal's History of the East and West Indies, vol. ii. b. 4. Lord Clive's Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock, 1764, p. 4.

^f History and Management of the East India Company, p. 110.

^g In 1750. See Lord Clive's Letter to the Proprietors of India Stock, p. 5.

This war was carried on with uncommon vigour, and with various success, for six years ; when efforts were made by the cabinets of London and Versailles to terminate hostilities, which, it was supposed, could not be much longer confined to the continent of Asia. The basis of the proposed accommodations was a project for establishing a perfect equality of territory, strength, and trade, on the coast of Coromandel and Orixá. The terms were arranged between General Saunders and M. Godeheu, but had not yet received a final sanction in England and France, when war was declared between those countries in consequence of disputes relative to America.^a

C H A P.
X.
Arrange-
ment at-
tempted.

Dupleix was now removed, and replaced by the unfortunate Lally ; the flames of war again raged in India, and the English, after sustaining many reverses, finally succeeded in reducing every place possessed by the enemy, whose power, after the capture and destruction of Pondicherry, seemed to be irretrievably lost.

Events of
the war.

Such was the situation of Great Britain and France, with respect to their Indian territories, when the treaty for peace was commenced in 1762. The importance of the acquisitions made by the English East India Company was fully appreciated by the minister, and he was properly tenacious of their interests. At an early period of the negotiation, he applied to the court of directors for instructions in settling the affairs of Indiaⁱ. Before the court gave the required determination, the Duke of Bedford signed the preliminaries ; but an article relative to the Carnatic appearing to Lord Bute subversive of the benefits to be expected from the success of the British arms, he immediately informed the Duke it was inadmissible. “ Worn out,” he said, “ as we are, and loaded with debt, we must, however, continue the war, if that article is not altered.”

Arrange-
ments at
the peace.

^a Raynal's History of the East and West Indies, vol. ii. b. 4.

ⁱ Smollett's Complete History of England, vol. xvi. p. 209.

C H A P.

X.

Observations of
Lord Clive.

This resolute remonstrance had the desired effect ; the treaty was revised, and rendered agreeable to the East India Company.^k

Yet Lord Clive animadverted on this part of the treaty with some disapprobation. He admits that it is calculated to secure to the Company the benefits they had a right to expect from their general's success, and that, upon the whole, it is highly advantageous ; but he exposes some geographical and topographical errors, and condemns the manner in which Salabat Jing and Mahomed Ally are acknowledged, as pregnant with future hostilities.¹

Disputes of
the native
princes.

The enfeebled state of the French did not authorize the Company to dread a speedy accomplishment of his Lordship's prediction ; but the distractions and crimes which pervaded all parts of India, engendered such extraordinary and sudden revolutions, that the British subjects could not, consistently with their own safety and well being, desist from taking part in those quarrels, which, in their origin and conduct, threatened the British power with utter ruin. Being once engaged, their activity and valour gave them great influence, and high consideration ; their aid was courted by all parties ; and the overthrow of the French leaving them without an adequate counterpoise, they became irresistible in several provinces of India. To explain this ascendancy, a brief retrospect will be necessary.

Influence of
the English.

The supreme authority of the Mogul throne was completely destroyed. Allumguire, the successor of Ahmed Shah, owed his accession to the treachery of his vizier Ghazi ul Dien, and he soon found that in receiving so high a promotion from the hand of a traitor, he made himself a tool to promote views of ambition in which his own interest was not consulted. The insolence, cruelty, and rapacity of Ghazi were excessive, and his authority so formidable, that Allum-

Subversion
of the Mo-
gul power.

^k From private information.

¹ Lord Clive's Letter, &c. p. 9.

guire was compelled to conspire secretly against him^m. This measure was not attended with success; and Allumguire, together with his son Ally Gohar, were for some time detained prisoners. Ally Gohar, also known by the title of the Shah Zaddahⁿ, at length escaped, and signalized himself by some exploits in Bengal, which will be related hereafter. His father was, in 1760, basely and cruelly assassinated by the vizier Ghazi, who placed on the throne a prince of the blood, named Shah Jehan.

C H A P.
X.

This treachery occasioned the ruin of the city of Delhi. Achmet Abdalla taking advantage of the feeble state of the empire, was joined by Nidjib ul Dowlah, an officer of the late Mogul, who was highly incensed at Ghazi's treachery; they invaded Delhi, plundered the inhabitants, and, after a massacre, which lasted seven days without intermission, set the city on fire in several places^o. The misery of the Delhians was completed by an irruption of the Mahrattas, who found, even in the leavings of the barbarous Abdalla, some spoils which excited rapacity. They not only plundered these unfortunate wretches of their remaining property, but, after stripping them naked, whipped them through the streets, and left them victims to all the miseries of famine and desolation, which produced such scenes as cannot be contemplated without horror and disgust. Thus the imperial city of Delhi, which in the days of its glory was said to contain two millions of people, became almost a heap of rubbish, and thus the last remains of the Mogul power were extinguished.^p

Destruction
of Delhi.

After the depression of the supreme authority in Hindostan, the claims of the country potentates and even of the Europeansettlers, became more generally

The inde-
pendence of
the nabobs
established.

^m In 1757.

ⁿ Shah Zaddah signifies the king's son, and Ally Gohar was distinguished by that title during his father's life. See Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii. p. 76. Appendix.

^o In 1761.

^p Dow's History of Hindostan, vol. ii. Appendix.

C H A P.
X.

Affairs of
the Carna-
tic.

Of Bengal.

Intrigues of
Mir Jaffier.

acknowledged, and their ascendancy more firmly established. The anxiety and jealousies attendant on a recent acquisition of sovereignty, and the want of stability which accompanies a contested claim, laid the foundations of future animosities, as well between the native princes and pretenders, as between them and the English Company.

Mahomed Ally, nabob of the Carnatic, grateful for the support he constantly received from the English, was at all times a steady and affectionate adherent to their interests. During the war, his liberality was displayed in ample donations and military aid, which exceeded the scope of reasonable expectation, and were often rendered additionally welcome and honourable by being entirely unsolicited. The friendship of this prince was ever productive of the highest benefits to the Company.^a

In Bengal, the British power was not only endangered, but brought to the very brink of ruin. For some time after the deposition and death of Surajah Dowlah^r, his successor, Mir Jaffier Ally, continued to exhibit the most friendly sentiments toward the English, to whom he was conscious that he chiefly owed his elevation; but, at length, the derangement of his finances, and the intrigues of his servants, acting upon a jealous and tyrannical disposition, produced a series of complicated altercations, which terminated in an inveterate aversion.^s

Mir Jaffier was feeble, treacherous, and cruel; his necessities compelled him to have recourse to such oppressive measures as alienated the hearts of his subjects; and his son Miran, a weak and voluptuous youth, having formed projects for shaking off all connection with the English, irritated his father by representations that he was in a state of dependence, and his government merely nominal.

^a History and Management of the East India Company, p. 132. — State of Facts relative to Tanjore, p. 19.

^s See Smollett's History, vol. iv. p. 120. ^s Transactions in India, p. 37.

In consequence of these remonstrances, the English were in danger of being the victims of some grand effort of force or treachery, when the Shah Zaddah invaded Bengal, and laid siege to Patna. Mir Jaffier's cruelty and injustice, together with other motives of selfishness and interest, which have considerable influence among the Asiatic potentates, induced many of his subjects and dependants to join the Shah Zaddah, who would probably have surmounted all resistance, had not Colonel Clive, by a masterly and rapid march, arrived unexpectedly before Patna, and compelled the prince precipitately to raise the siege.

Despairing of success while the English were numbered among his foes, the Shah Zaddah, more than once, wrote to Clive, offering any terms for the Company, and for himself, if he would quit Mir Jaffier, and join him. The Colonel, urged by every motive of policy and honour, refused these offers, and at length returned to England, where he was rewarded by being created a peer of Ireland.

Offers of
the Shah
Zaddah.

Jan. 1760.
Clive re-
turns to
England.

The command of the army now devolved on Colonel Caillaud, and the presidency of the council on Mr. Holwell, till a new president should arrive. The Shah Zaddah, at the head of thirty thousand men, renewed his attempt on Patna, and the hatred in which Mir Jaffier was held, together with the absence of the English forces, gave him reasonable prospects of success; when the Rajah Ramnarain marched out from Patna at the head of forty thousand men, to keep him in check. Colonel Caillaud and Mir Jaffier had forwarded express instructions to avoid an engagement till the European troops, and the intended reinforcements under the nabob's son, could advance to his aid; but Ramnarain, eager to distinguish himself, and relying on his superiority of numbers, resolved to hazard a battle, by which he hoped to signalize his own valour, and diminish the importance of the English auxiliaries. Independently

Siege of
Patna.

C H A P.
X.

of the instructions he had received, common prudence suggested the impropriety of this measure; for the Rajah was acquainted with the treacherous disposition of many of his associates, and knew that from their hatred of Mir Jaffier nothing could be more probable than their inactivity at least, if not their desertion.

The event was conformable to these expectations: Ramnarain fought with great valour, and was severely wounded in the combat; but was defeated. His ill success was, in a great degree, attributed to three of the principal subordinate rajahs, who by signal acts of perfidy turned the fortune of the day. Ramnarain, too desirous of distinguishing himself, posted the few English troops who formed a part of his army at a great distance from his person. One of the treacherous rajahs, attacking these troops, diverted their attention from the enemy: another fell on Ramnarain's rear; and a third quitted the field in the heat of the action. Ramnarain continued the engagement to the last extremity: but as the greater part of his army was fled, and he in danger of being made prisoner, he called in the assistance of the English, who sent some sepoys to his relief, and brought him in safety off the field. The English made an orderly retreat, and such was the terror excited by their prowess, that they were suffered to march off without interruption.

1760.

The prince, encouraged by success, again laid siege to Patna; but Ramnarain, whose wounds did not hinder him from adopting requisite measures for the protection of the city, was now anxious to repair by prudence the effects of his late misconduct. To the ordinary means of defence he added a share of Gentoo duplicity; and by giving the besiegers hopes of a surrender, and some other finesses, contrived to amuse them, till Colonel Caillaud and the young nabob were arrived within a short distance of Patna.

Treachery
of the young
nabob.

The Shah Zaddah, sensible of his error in suffering this delay, marched against the young nabob,

and offered him battle. Miran, who on many occasions shewed a fixed resolution to impede the measures proposed by the council, delayed the engagement for two days. It terminated advantageously to the nabob; although in the onset, and throughout the whole of the day, he displayed so little skill, and a disposition so intractable, that the valour and conduct of the English alone preserved him from falling a sacrifice to his own temerity and want of judgment.

At the conclusion of the battle, Miran, who was slightly wounded, obstinately rejected Colonel Caillaud's proposition to detach a force in pursuit of the defeated enemy, and retired to Patna, where he continued immersed in sensuality, and deaf to advice^t. His more prudent adversary collected his scattered forces at Bahar, and carried his arms into the heart of Bengal. Miran, after a week of indolent voluptuousness, commenced his march, and was surprized with the information that his adversary had preceded him by two days.

29th Feb.

The Shah Zaddah directing his course by an unfrequented pass, experienced many delays. The English troops, and those of the nabob, closely followed him, and sent, by a more easy route, expresses to Mir Jaffier at Moorshedabad, who was no sooner apprized of his danger, than he collected an army for the defence of his capital, and being joined by two hundred Europeans from Calcutta, took the field.

The Shah Zaddah marches to Moorshedabad.

In the latter end of March, the Shah Zaddah advanced within thirty miles of Moorshedabad; but here his good fortune terminated. The courage, promptitude, and wisdom, which dictated his inroad, seemed suddenly to desert him, and he wanted vigour to take advantage of his favourable position. Mir Jaffier, unaided by his son, and the great body of English troops, marched out of Moorshedabad,

^t See Colonel Caillaud's evidence before the committee of the House of Commons. Reports of committees to the House of Commons, vol. iii. p. 158.

C H A P.

X.

1760.

4th April.

6th April.

Returns to
Patna.

and had he been successfully attacked before the expected junction, the capital of Bengal was lost ; but the Shah Zaddah wasted his time in unavailing consultations, till Mir Jaffier and his son united their forces near Burdwan.

Dispositions were immediately made for attacking the prince, and Colonel Caillaud again experienced the mortification of seeing his advice disregarded by Miran. He proposed, if they would give him a body of cavalry, and some spare horses to assist in carrying the Europeans, who were exhausted with fatigue, to attack the prince in his camp that night. This and other pressing solicitations being uniformly rejected, the prince gained time to concert new measures, and finding himself disappointed in his hopes of taking the capital, he suddenly decamped. Judging, from this rapid and unexpected movement, that he meditated a new attack on Patna, Colonel Caillaud dispatched Captain Knox, with a force which was deemed sufficient, to the relief of the city. In thirteen days, Captain Knox completed his march, although the distance was three hundred miles, and he was twice under the necessity of crossing the Ganges ; yet the Shah Zaddah, having advanced three days before him, had already reached the place of his destination, made two general attacks, and was preparing for a third. The garrison being feeble, great expectations were formed from this last assault ; but the opportune arrival of the British troops inspired the besieged with confidence, while it struck terror into the besiegers ; the attack was easily repelled ; and thus, for a third time, Patna was saved in the most critical emergency. The next day, Captain Knox, at the head of his whole detachment, attacked the prince, drove him from his works, and compelled him to retreat, in extreme want, to the banks of the river Soane, fifty miles west of Patna.

His defeat.

War with
the Rajah of
Purneah.

No sooner had the valour and prudence of the Company's servants rescued the province from this

formidable and persevering enemy, than another discovered himself in the person of Cuddeim Houssein, Rajah of Purneah, who, having retained for three years the revenues of his province from Mir Jaffier, assembled a large army, intending to join the Shah Zaddah; but the young nabob and Colonel Caillaud utterly defeated and put him to flight.

C H A P.

X.

1760.

25th May.

In this action, Miran behaved with his accustomed negligence and obstinacy. He halted nearly a mile in the rear of the British forces, left them, unsupported, to sustain an unequal conflict, and, after the fight, refused to risque his troops in a pursuit; by which means Cuddeim escaped with all his treasures. When his troops were refreshed, and he had persuaded Miran to assist, Colonel Caillaud commenced the pursuit; they followed the route of the enemy five days with favourable prospects of ultimate success, when the sudden death of the young nabob, who was struck by a flash of lightning, terminated the expedition. The fire pierced through the top of his tent, and as he slept, killed him, and one or two attendants. Colonel Caillaud, apprized of this event, secured the adherence of the army, who would otherwise, according to their usual custom on the death of a chief, have plundered the camp and dispersed; but fearful of probable disasters, he hastily measured back his steps to Patna, and distributed the troops into winter-quarters.

Negligence
of Miran.

2d July.
His sudden
death.

A short time after this transaction, Mr. Vansittart arriving at Calcutta as president, Colonel Caillaud was summoned from the army to report to the council the state of Mir Jaffier's affairs. Before he obeyed this order, he waited on the nabob, for the purpose of consulting with him on the untoward appearance of circumstances, and recommending such measures as would enable him to take the field at an early period with advantage. Mir Jaffier promised to use every requisite exertion, and the colonel proceeded to Fort William.

Colonel
Caillaud
goes to
Calcutta.

C H A P.

X.

1760.

Position of
Mir Jaffier's
affairs.

Although the nabob's promises were calculated to satisfy Colonel Caillaud, it was equally remote from his power and his intention to give them effect. His tyranny, increasing with his years, became insupportable; while his feebleness was such, that his tributary rajahs retained his revenues, and if pressed to account for them, vindicated their contumacy by rebellion. The little money which came to Moorshedabad was squandered in licentious luxury; and the troops, deprived of their pay, broke out into frequent mutinies, which threatened the nabob's authority, and even his life. His ministers rivalled their master in rapacity and cruelty; famine besieged the poor, and aggravated to despair the sense of their other calamities. The English, who had employed their treasures in supporting Mir Jaffier, and in fighting his battles, were not only unrewarded, but hated; the jealousy of the nabob extended to all their transactions; and while they were strenuously occupied in promoting his interest, he placed no confidence in their councils, and withheld his support from their military exertions.

Under these circumstances, the council sent for Cossim Ally, the nabob's son-in-law, a prince whose talents were acknowledged, and afterward fatally experienced, to confer on the exigencies of the occasion. The propriety of a new revolution had already been discussed in the council; but the project appeared so dangerous, and the choice of a successor to Mir Jaffier presented so many difficulties, that the scheme was never sanctioned.

Before this period, Allumguire was assassinated, and by the exertions of the invader Abdalla, the Shah Zaddah was proclaimed King of Hindostan by the name of Shah Allum. In his favour a revolution might with propriety have been effected; but prudence forbade the attempt. Shah Allum's enemies were numerous and inveterate; and without the cordial co-operation of Abdalla, which was very pre-

May.
Shah Al-
lum Great
Mogul.

carious, the English would only have increased their enemies, without deriving essential benefit from a measure, which, if it could have been undertaken, would have been just and expedient. ■

C H A P.
X.
1760.

Although a total revolution was not in the contemplation of the Company's servants, when they sent for Mir Cossim, they undoubtedly meditated such a change in the administration of affairs, as should no longer leave them exposed to the versatility and weakness of Jaffier. This alteration was rendered more urgent by their own critical position; for although the war against Shah Allum and his adherents was generally successful, the Company's affairs bore an alarming aspect. Their money and effects were considerably exhausted; and Jaffier, far from aiding, impeded all their efforts to obtain supplies, and secretly intrigued with their enemies.

State of the
English.

Before the arrival of Mr. Vansittart, Cossim had often, in letters to Mr. Holwell, professed the strongest attachment to the Company, and promised abundant compensations, if, by their exertions, he should be promoted to the succession of the Dewannee, and other posts enjoyed by his late brother-in-law. In an interview which he had at Calcutta, at seven in the morning, with Mr. Holwell, who was commissioned by the council to receive his proposals, he discovered unexpected views of ambition, urged the repeated treacheries of the subah and Miran to their English benefactors, and expatiated on their cruelties and murders, and the universal abhorrence in which they were held by the people; he dwelt much on Jaffier's personal ingratitude to himself, which had been twice displayed in attempts on his life; exclaimed against the secret negotiation which he carried on with the Shah Zaddah and the Dutch; disclosed private orders, by which he himself, when sent against the

Interview
with Mir
Cossim.

25th Sept.

^u See Colonel Caillaud's Letter to Mr. Holwell, 29th May, 1760, published in Holwell's address to the Proprietors of East India Stock, 1764, and in the reports of the House of Commons, vol. iii. p. 159.

C H A P.

X.

1760.

Dutch, was instructed to favour them, in contradiction to the public instructions imparted to Mr. Holwell; and concluded, by declaring the subah incapable of government, as no faith or trust could be reposed in him; and if he was not removed, it would never be in his own power to render the Company those services which he ardently desired.

Mr. Holwell expressing astonishment and abhorrence at this proposal, and insisting on an immediate termination of the conference, unless Cossim totally relinquished his ambitious views, a long altercation ensued, from which at length the following terms resulted:

1. Cossim to be invested with the Dewannee, to be declared Chuta Nabob, and successor in the subahship to Jaffier, and to enjoy all the posts possessed by the late young nabob.

2. All acts of government to be under the seal, and in the name of Jaffier; but the executive power to rest in Cossim; the dignity of the subah to remain inviolable in the person of the former, with an allowance of one lack of rupees monthly, for the support of his household and other expences.

3. Cossim to pay the balance of the Tunkas, as lately adjusted with Omid Roy, on the part of Jaffier.

4. The Company to maintain a standing force for defence of the government and provinces, consisting of eight thousand sepoy, two thousand European foot, two thousand country, and five hundred European, cavalry.

5. To maintain this standing force, the countries of Burdomaan, Midnapour, Chittigong, and half the annual produce of the Chinam at Silhet, to be ceded to the Company in perpetuity.

Mr. Holwell was also desirous of introducing another clause, importing that Shah Allum should be acknowledged sovereign of Hindostan; this was neither accepted nor rejected, but left to be adjusted according to the train of future events, and the arti-

cles were interchangeably executed by the council, and Mir Cossim. CHAP. X.

To give effect to this arrangement, Major Yorke was dispatched to Moorshedabad, with a detachment of two hundred Europeans, four pieces of artillery, and five or six hundred sepoy, under pretence of reinforcing the garrison at Patna. Mr. Vansittart and Colonel Caillaud also went to Cossimbaza, near Moorshedabad, for the purpose of aiding, by their presence, the intended change of government. Mr. Vansittart, in two conferences with Mir Jaffier at Moradbaag, remonstrated against the improper measures so long pursued, and, at the last interview, having reduced his advice to writing, delivered it for perusal. Jaffier listened with attention, and promised to consult his friends, for the purpose of ascertaining the proper means of repairing his errors; confessing at the same time, that through age and grief for the recent loss of his son, he was incapable of struggling alone against so many difficulties. Mr. Vansittart observed, that those he usually consulted were rather his enemies than his friends, and advised him to take the assistance of one of his relations, on whose attachment and fidelity he could safely rely. Mr. Vansittart named five or six, and among them Cossim Ally; but, although Jaffier allowed him to be the most proper person to assume the government, yet such were his jealousy and dislike of his son-in-law, that he was with great difficulty induced to send for him, but could not be prevailed on to make him the depositary of his authority.

1760.
Expedition
to Moor-
shedabad.

Mr. Vansittart's interviews with Mir Jaffier. 18th.

When Cossim arrived at Moradbaag, Jaffier was already departed, excusing himself, on account of feebleness and fatigue, from continuing a conference already much protracted. Cossim declared his apprehensions, that, instead of intrusting him with the management of his affairs, his father-in-law would contrive means privately to destroy him; and Mr. Vansittart, already convinced that, without compul-

Arrival of Cossim.

C H A P.

X.

1760.

Revolution
in Bengal.

sion, Jaffier would not adopt the proposed arrangement, coincided in opinion with Cossim, that he should not return to the nabob's house, till measures were taken for his security.

Mr. Vansittart, having left with Jaffier the letters containing the substance of his advice, was inclined to allow him the whole of the next day to consider their contents ; but being informed that this deluded man had consulted with his old advisers, whose sentiments could not be favourable to the interests of the Company, he made instant arrangements for compelling him to adopt a mode of conduct essential to the welfare of the English.

The nineteenth of October was a season peculiarly favourable to his design ; it was the termination of a grand Gentoo festival, at which all the chief personages of the country assisted, and their weariness would prevent vigilance and obviate opposition.

In pursuance of Mr. Vansittart's orders, Colonel Caillaud crossed the river, with his detachment, between three and four o'clock in the morning, and, in conjunction with the troops of Cossim, surrounded the nabob's palace. They seized Jaffier's three principal ministers, all men of low birth, and rendered infamous by their rapacity and crimes. Having formed his men, Colonel Caillaud transmitted to Jaffier a letter, written by Mr. Vansittart, informing him what was intended, and instructing him in the line of conduct most proper to be pursued.

The old nabob, not expecting so rapid and resolute a movement, gave way at first to the impulse of rage ; threatened resistance ; and declared that, while life remained, he would not accede to the terms demanded. Colonel Caillaud, who had been instructed to avoid the effusion of blood, gave time for this transport to subside, and, in about an hour, was called into the nabob's presence. He urged strongly the inutility of further opposition, and pressed him to adopt the measures suggested in the letter, but in

vain. Jaffier rejected every offer, and at length, giving way to despondency, declared his resolution to relinquish the government, stipulating only for the preservation of his life. To this determination he rigidly adhered; in vain was he assured that not only his life, but his authority should be secured: he said, he too well knew the disposition of mankind, and of his countrymen in particular, to trust himself near Cossim, from whom he was convinced his life would be in perpetual danger; and requested permission to reside at Fort William, under protection of the English.

Finding him inflexible, Mr. Vansittart at length acceded to his request, and Jaffier, attended by a strong escort of Europeans, taking with him all his effects, women, jewels, and treasure, repaired to Calcutta, where he was met by a deputation from the council, and treated with every mark of respect due to his former dignity. The throne being thus abdicated, Cossim Ally was proclaimed nabob, and received the customary homage: his election gave general satisfaction, and the tranquillity of the city remained uninterrupted.

Mir Jaffier
departs for
Calcutta.

Cossim
proclaimed
nabob.

Cossim instantly fulfilled his agreements with the English. He put them in possession of the departments of Burdwan, Midnapour, and Chittigong, a fertile and extensive tract of country, the annual revenues of which amounted to six hundred thousand pounds. He concluded an alliance offensive and defensive, and the affairs of the Company promised soon to become more flourishing than ever.*

* The preceding narrative is derived from Dow's History of Hindostan; Verelst's View of the Rise and Progress of the English Government in Bengal; Holwell's Narrative; his Address to the Proprietors of East India Stock; Vansittart's Narrative, and his Letters to the Board at Calcutta; the History and Management of the East India Company; Transactions in India; the Defence of Lord Pigot; and the Reports from the Committees to the House of Commons, published by authority. —The discussions and narratives of facts relative to the affairs of India, are so perplexed with the different representations of individuals, resulting from their passions, hopes, or prejudices, that no account can be given on the credit of any authority, which is not contradicted, almost diametrically, by persons whose narratives are equally unexceptionable. The manner of Mir Jaffier's abdication, or deposition,

CHAP.

X.

and retreat, is thus related in a letter from Messrs. Coote, Amyatt, Carnac, Ellis, Batson, and Verelst, to the secret committee at the India House, dated the 11th March, 1762, and printed in the reports from committees to the House of Commons, vol. iii. p. 252:—In pursuance of a treaty entered into with Mir Cossim, for the deposition of *Mir Jaffier*, Mr. Vansittart, under false pretences, repaired to Moradbaag, accompanied by Colonel Caillaud, and two hundred European troops and some sepoyes, who, it was alleged, were intended to reinforce Patna. After delivering his letters in the most abrupt manner, and pressing Mir Jaffier to appoint his son-in-law prime minister, Mr. Vansittart suffered the old man to depart, and Cossim arrived. That night and the day following were spent by Mr. Vansittart, Cossim, and Colonel Caillaud, in concerting measures for executing their plan. “In consequence of these deliberations, our troops clandestinely crossed the river the next night under Colonel Caillaud, and being joined by Cossim and his party, surrounded the nabob’s palace: a letter from Mr. Vansittart was sent in to the nabob, demanding his immediate compliance with what had been proposed to him; to which the nabob returned for answer, ‘That such usage was what he never expected from the English; that whilst a force was at his gates, he would enter into no terms; and that it was his desire our troops might be returned to Moradbaag.’ A message was then sent in, informing the nabob, that if he did not directly comply, they should be obliged to storm the palace. Astonished and terrified by this menace, he opened his gates, exclaiming ‘That he was betrayed; that the English were guilty of perjury and breach of faith; that he perceived their designs against his government; that he had friends enough to hazard at least one battle in his defence; but although no oaths were sacred enough to bind the English, yet as he had sworn to be their faithful friend, he would never swerve from his engagement, and rather suffer death than draw his sword against them.’ So suspicious was he of being sold, that ‘he desired to know what sum of money Cossim Ally Khan was to give for the subahship, and he would give half as much more to be continued; he hoped, however, if they intended to dethrone him, they would not leave him to the mercy of his son-in-law, from whom he feared the worst; but rather wished they would carry him from the city, and give him a place of safety in Calcutta.’ This last request of the nabob’s, the effect of his fear and despair, was immediately laid hold of, and construed in the light of a voluntary resignation. Accordingly, our troops took possession of the palace, Mir Cossim was raised to the musnud, and the old nabob was hurried into a boat with a few of his women and necessaries, and sent away to Calcutta in a manner wholly unworthy of the high rank he had so lately held, as is also the scanty subsistence allowed him here by his successor. Thus was Jaffier Ally Khan deposed, in breach of a treaty founded upon the most solemn oaths, and in violation of the national faith; a prince, of whose friendship and attachment you have had many signal proofs; in whose cause our arms have with much honour been employed; and by a firm adherence to whom, the English had acquired, throughout the whole country, so universal a character of fidelity and constancy, that the most perfect confidence was placed by the natives in them.”

CHAPTER THE ELEVENTH.

1760 — 1763.

Affairs of India continued. — Conduct and character of Mir Cossim. — His efforts to destroy the Rajah Ramnarain. — Differences in the council respecting the revolution. — Conduct of the English to Cossim. — His efforts to diminish their influence. — Mr. Vansittart goes to Monghir. — Concludes an improvident treaty, the enforcement of which occasions many complaints. — Deputation sent to Monghir, who are ill used and assassinated. — Patna taken by the English; but recaptured, and the factory made prisoners. — Mir Jaffier restored. — Successful military operations of Major Adams. — Massacre of the British prisoners at Patna. — Capture of that city. — Total conquest of Bengal. — Flight of Cossim.

THE flattering prospects opened by the elevation of Mir Cossim were not long enjoyed without alarm. If the welfare of the Company was endangered by the weakness of Jaffier, it was soon exposed to greater peril from the superior activity and intelligence of his successor. Cossim was bold, subtle, enterprising, and of a commanding genius; he felt with shame and regret his subjection to the English; and determined, as soon as he had secured the benefits which he expected from their assistance, to retrench their power, and perhaps ultimately deliver himself from their presence. He did not however indiscreetly betray his intentions to the prejudice of his interests, but maintained a cautious dissimulation till his great views were accomplished.

By the aid of Major Carnac and the English forces, he defeated and took prisoner Shah Allum, with whom he, soon afterward, made an advantageous treaty; but, although he restored to the prince his liberty, and professed good intentions toward him, he opposed, with great duplicity, though with per-

C H A P.
XI.

1760.
Conduct and
character of
Mir Cossim.

1760.
Defeat of
Shah Allum.

C H A P.

XI.

1760.

Cossim's
efforts to
destroy the
Rajah Ram-
narain.

severance and success, Mr. Holwell's proposal for acknowledging and supporting his title to the Mogul throne: a measure which was rendered the more impracticable by Shah Allum's own imprudence.

Cossim next availed himself of the assistance of the English in reducing to obedience the rajahs who withheld the revenues of his predecessor; and having accomplished this object, sought, by a strict and well-regulated economy, to prevent those necessities which had rendered his father-in-law's government unstable, and facilitated its subversion. As a last effort, before his display of hostile intentions against the English, he prevailed on them to give up the Rajah Ramnarain, the firm friend of the Company, and, for that reason, obnoxious to the ambitious nabob. In this measure, he met with considerable opposition from Major Carnac and Colonel Coote. Ramnarain is described as a man of abilities, but avaricious, and supposed very wealthy. He was protected by Lord Clive against the rapacity of Mir Jaffier; he owed his continuance in power entirely to the British influence; and the council considered it their duty, for some time, to persist in the policy adopted by Lord Clive. The pretext for oppressing this man was his being in arrear to the nabobs, but he always testified the utmost readiness to come to a fair and equitable account.

After the defeat of Shah Allum, who immediately repaired to Sujah ul Dowlah, the council proposed proclaiming him; Mir Cossim appeared to consent, but afterward adopted other views, and taking advantage of the feebleness of the British force at Patna, attempted, by bribery, to gain the custody of Ramnarain, and, by treachery, to obtain possession of the city gates. He offered Colonel Coote seven lacks and a half of rupees (90,750l.) to deliver up Ramnarain, and afterward endeavoured, by terror and treachery, to secure to himself the means of seizing him. Major Carnac, who commanded at Patna

before Colonel Coote, had refused obedience to the orders of council, which directed him to deliver up the devoted rajah to his enemy, and thus drew on himself a great share of indignation^a; but he magnanimously persevered in the same line of conduct. Cossim had the address to represent the proceedings of Colonel Coote in such a light, that, in consequence of some severe letters from the board, he repaired to Calcutta to vindicate himself, and in his absence; Cossim's malevolence was gratified, and one of the firmest friends of the Company sacrificed to a false, timid, and interested policy. Being now secure against all opposition from his own subjects and dependants, Cossim displayed less forbearance and caution toward the more formidable objects of his apprehensions.

Although it appears that the members of the council who were then present, unanimously sanctioned the proposals stated to them by Mr. Holwell, as resulting from his private conference with Cossim, yet the other members did not approve of the revolution, which deposed in so sudden a manner, the prince whom Lord Clive and Admiral Watson had elevated, and thus annulled an act which was deemed the most fortunate and glorious of the British exploits in India^b. Mr. Vansittart, although seconded by a majority in the council, found the minority sufficiently formidable to fill him with apprehension; in this critical situation, he endeavoured by compliances to retain his interest with Cossim; and, as the East India Company had expressed their approbation of his past conduct, hoped, by success, to obtain the same sanction for his subsequent proceedings.^c

Differences in council respecting the revolution.

^a See Appendix to the Third Report of the Committee, Nos. 13, 14, 15, and 16.

^b See minutes entered in the books, at a consultation at Fort William, 8th of January 1761, by Messrs. Amyatt, Ellis, and Harry Smith; also a letter to the secret committee at the India House, dated the 11th March 1762, signed by Messrs. Coote, Amyatt, Carnac, Ellis, Batson, and Verelst. Reports from committees to the House of Commons, vol. iii. p. 251, et seq.

^c This and the subsequent parts of the chapter, where no authority is expressly

C H A P.

XI.

1760.

Conduct of
the English
to Cossim.

In fact, when Mir Cossim had recourse to hostilities, it was not without provocation. The English officers not only disputed his orders, but, on all occasions, exhibited their superiority, with an insolence insupportable to an Asiatic prince, who could not brook a mode of conduct which tended to render him and his commands contemptible in the eyes of his own subjects. The exemption from certain inland duties granted to the East India Company was enormously abused. Not only the English, and the sepoys in their pay, but natives assuming their dress and character, spread themselves over the country; oppressed, plundered, and maltreated the husbandmen, merchants, and tranquil inhabitants; defrauded the revenue, by buying and selling the necessaries and luxuries of life at their own price, and without regard to the fiscal laws; defied the authority of the nabob, and terrified his officers to such a degree, that they desisted from exercising their functions^d. Whatever pretence for this conduct might be found in the weakness or injustice of Cossim's predecessor, he afforded no such excuse; he had hitherto conducted himself with great prudence, and fully answered all his engagements with the council.

With a view to emancipate himself from the inspection of the English, the nabob removed his court from Moorshedabad to Monghir, situated on the Ganges, two hundred miles further from Calcutta.

He removes
his court to
Monghir.

referred to, are taken from the Annual Register, 1764, 1765, and 1766; Smollett's Complete History of England, vol. xvi.; Transactions in India; Verelst's View of the Government of Bengal; the Reports from Committees to the House of Commons; and the periodical publications.

^d The following extract of a letter from Mr. Hastings to the Governor, exposes these enormities in a clear and masterly manner: "I beg leave to lay before you a grievance, which calls loudly for redress. I mean the oppressions committed under the sanction of the English name, and through want of spirit in the nabob's subjects to oppose them. This evil, I am well assured, is not confined to our dependants alone, but is practised all over the country, by people assuming the habits of our sepoys, and calling themselves our gomastahs (black agents or factors). As on such occasions the great power of the English intimidates the people from resistance, so, on the other hand, the indolence of the Bengalees, or

He surrounded this place with strong fortifications, increased his troops, and introduced a new system of discipline; he invited into his pay every wandering European who had borne arms, and all the sepoys dismissed from the British service, and distributed them among his own regiments to impart a knowledge of the European exercise. He changed the matchlocks of the natives for firelocks, and formed a train of artillery on the English model. To render himself still more secure, he destroyed or imprisoned every considerable person in his dominions who shewed attachment to the English, and interdicted all correspondence between his subjects and the Company's officers. He began to enforce against the private traders the revenue laws, from which they understood themselves to be exempt, and stopped their boats throughout his dominions.^c

C H A P.
XI.

1760.
Increases
and discipli-
nes his
troops.

Restrains
the trade of
the English.

“ the difficulty of gaining access to those who might do them justice, prevents
“ our having knowledge of the oppressions, and encourages their continuance, to
“ the great, though unmerited, scandal of our government.

“ I have been surprised to meet with several English flags flying in the places
“ which I have passed, and on the river I do not believe I passed a boat without
“ one. By whatever title they have been assumed, (for I could only trust to the
“ information of my eyes, without stopping to ask questions,) I am sure their
“ frequency can bode no good to the nabob's revenues, the quiet of the country,
“ or honour of our nation; but evidently tends to lessen each of them.

“ A party of sepoys, who were on their march before us, afforded sufficient
“ proofs of the rapacious and insolent spirit of these people, when left to their
“ own discretion. Many complaints against them were made to me on the road
“ and most of the petty towns and serais (baiting places for travellers) were de-
“ serted at our approach, and the shops shut up, from apprehensions of the same
“ treatment from us.

“ The nabob also made his complaints on the subject with firmness and dignity.
“ Every Bengal gomastah makes a disturbance at every factory, and thinks himself
“ not inferior to the Company. In every purgunnah, (the largest division of land
“ in a zemindary,) every village, and every factory, they buy and sell salt, betle-
“ nut, ghee, rice, straw, bamboos, fish, gunnills, ginger, sugar, tobacco, opium,
“ and many other things, more than I can write, and which I think it needless to
“ mention. They forcibly take away the goods and commodities of the ryots,
“ (husbandmen,) merchants, &c. for a fourth part of their value, and by ways of
“ violence and oppression, they oblige the ryots, &c. to give five rupees for goods
“ which are worth but one rupee; and, for the sake of five rupees, they bind and
“ disgrace an assamsee, who pays one hundred rupees mulguzarree, (rents or
“ land-tax,) and they allow not any authority to my servants; the officers of each
“ district have desisted from the exercise of their functions, and every one of
“ these gomastahs has such power, that he imprisons the collector, and deprives
“ him of all authority whenever he pleases.”

■ See Appendix to the third report made to the House of Commons on the
nature, state, and condition of the East India Company, No. 17 to 26.

C H A P.

XI.

1760.
Alarm of the
council.

Mr. Vansittart goes to
Monghir,

and con-
cludes an
improvident
treaty.

These proceedings filled the council with alarm and apprehension ; but the complaints of the traders did not obtain much attention from Mr. Vansittart, who was sensible of the injuries sustained by the Company from their conduct, and the improper use of their pass, or dustuck, and had received instructions from the court of directors for restraining those abuses.

But the violence of Mir Cossim's proceeding, the peremptory manner in which he began those innovations, and the order with which they were accompanied, that all disputes with the Company's servants, if beyond their own limits, should be tried by the nabob's magistrates, induced Mr. Vansittart to repair to Monghir, for the purpose of arranging differences. To his expostulations, the nabob answered in a firm and decided manner, and argued, that if the servants of the English company were permitted to trade in all parts, and in all commodities duty free, it would be his best policy to impose no customs, and thus give an active impulse to industry, increase his revenues by augmenting cultivation and manufacture, and finally obviate all causes of dispute^f. Anxious to avoid hostilities with a prince whom he had himself elevated to the throne, Mr. Vansittart imprudently concluded a treaty, which stipulated that the English traders should pay the inland duties, amounting to nine per cent. on all articles not brought or sent in by sea, and obtain passes from the nabob's officers ; and all their disputes with his subjects were referred to the decision of his magistrates.^g

^f This conference took place in November, 1762.

^g Mr. Vansittart is stated to have received from Mir Cossim a donation of seven lacks of rupees (81,249l.), for concluding this improvident and disgraceful contract. See reports of committees to the House of Commons, vol. iii. p. 401, 402. In defending himself against this imputation, Mr. Vansittart alleges, 1st. That the receipt of presents was lawful, and a servant of the Company rather entitled to commendation than blame, who exercised his opportunities with moderation. 2dly. That the whole donation was not a present to him, but included a payment of expences and purchases ; and, 3dly. That Lord Clive falsified the statement of Bollackidass, the Gentoo banker, to him ; while the accusation is substantiated by the depositions on oath of Bollackidass, and another person. Such were the examples which led Lord Clive to observe, in a letter dated the 17th of April, 1765: " Give me leave now to lead you for a few moments into the civil department.

The regulations which extended to other objects of commerce, had a tendency to ruin all who, on the faith of former treaties, engaged in the inland trade. The subahdar having obtained this valuable concession, immediately transmitted copies to the officers of his revenue, with instructions to conform to its terms. As the treaty limited no time from which its operations were to commence, the vessels passing from one town to another were subject to the effect of an arrangement with which the proprietors were unacquainted, and several boats with arms belonging to the English were seized at Patna, for non-payment of the duties demanded by the nabob's officers.

C H A P.

XI.

1762.

Rigid execution of the treaty.

The English factory at Dacca remonstrated that the execution of the treaty, together with the injunctions of Cossim, would tend to such a rapine and destruction of the British property, as would reduce them to the same distress they had experienced in the memorable year 1756. The council of Calcutta voted it dishonourable, and, as it was concluded without their acquiescence, a breach of their privileges, and an unwarrantable dereliction of the advantages granted by the original phirmaund of the Great Mogul. Mr. Vansittart entered a minute in the books, vindicating his proceedings by circumstances, and by a forced explanation of part of the council's letter of instruction; at the same time, he avowed that his treaty was not exempt from error, and protested against the tyranny of the nabob's officers, and their voluntary misconstructions in executing the authority which he had unwarily committed to them.

Complaints and exertions against it.

1st Feb.

1763.

These dispositions on both sides portended inevitable hostilities, but, as a last effort to maintain tranquillity, a deputation was sent from Calcutta to Monghir. Mr. Amyatt, a member of the council,

28th Mar. Deputation sent to Monghir.

" See what an Augean stable is to be cleansed. The confusion we behold; what
 " does it arise from? Rapacity and luxury: the unwarrantable desire of many to
 " acquire in an instant, what only a few can or ought to possess. Every man
 " would be rich without the merit of long services; and from this incessant com-
 " petition undoubtedly springs that disorder, to which we must apply a remedy,
 " or be undone; for it is not only malignant but contagious."

C H A P.

XI.

1763.

Their treat-
ment.

selected for his moderation and mildness, was at their head. He had invariably opposed the revolution which placed Cossim on the throne, but without acrimony, or suffering his disapprobation to degenerate into a party feud. Great hopes were entertained from his character and manners; but Cossim was inflexible in maintaining the strict tenor of the treaty: he was daily obtaining fresh supplies of arms, and appeared buoyed up with notions of his own strength and sufficiency to oppose the British troops. He was not influenced by the demeanor of Mr. Amyatt, against whom he retained an unrelenting hatred: he even surrounded the English deputation with guards, and instead of treating them as ambassadors, or commercial missionaries, detained them as prisoners, not only disregarding their complaints, but refusing them permission to return.

Mir Cossim, although able, vigilant, and enterprising in the cabinet, was a coward by nature: his mind was not expanded by liberal views of politics, but was selfish, crafty, and malignant. In his instructions for enforcing the treaty, he made a distinction between his friends and those who opposed his elevation; and his cruelty and perfidy were in conformity with those low and ungenerous principles.

24th June.
Departure.

Mr. Amyatt, failing in his negotiation, at length obtained the necessary passports, and with all his suite, except two, departed from Monghir. This apparent relenting of the tyrant was, however, only a prelude to further cruelty, accompanied with flagitious treachery. In passing the city of Moorsheadabad, the English were attacked by Cossim's troops posted on both sides of the river; and although they landed, and produced the nabob's own pass, were all inhumanly massacred.

3d July.
And assassi-
nation.Alarm at
Patna.

Meanwhile, the disputes at Patna were carried on with increased acrimony: Cossim was continually sending fresh troops into the city; every thing wore an hostile appearance; the English factory apprehended that the place would soon be given up to the

plunder of the rabble; the suburbs were entirely deserted, and misery and alarm generally prevalent. Mir Mindi Khan, the nabob's naib, omitted paying to Mr. Ellis, the chief of the factory, the usual compliment of acquainting him with his arrival: he carried on vigorous military preparations, possessed himself of the gates, insulted the British guards, and it was generally rumoured that he was sent for the purpose of expelling the English.

C H A P.

XI.

1763.

In consequence of a letter from the factory, stating these circumstances, the council resolved, that in case of a rupture, and of the nabob's marching toward Patna, the factory should endeavour to possess themselves of the city, and keep it till further instructions. It became daily more and more apparent that an attack on Patna was intended, and Cossim declared that peace or war depended on the removal of the Company's troops. Under these circumstances, Mr. Ellis assailed and took the city, notwithstanding the strength of the fortifications, and the number of the garrison. Unfortunately, the conquerors neglected all caution, and betook themselves to plunder in every direction; the governor and garrison, who had fled, perceiving this unmilitary conduct, returned, attacked the English, who were too much dispersed to make effectual resistance, and, after a considerable slaughter, compelled the survivors to retire within the fort; thus the city was recaptured with as little opposition as it had been taken. The factory, deeming their present situation untenable, crossed the Ganges, in hopes of effecting a retreat into the territories of a neighbouring nabob; but were overtaken by a superior force, and, though victorious in one engagement, were, in a second, entirely routed; Mr. Ellis and the remainder the party were made captives; some were sent to Patna, and others to Monghir.

5th April.

14th.

The city
taken by
the English;

and re-
captured.

1st July.
Mr. Ellis
and his
party made
prisoners.

7th July.
Mir Jaffier
restored.

In consequence of these disastrous events, the council of Calcutta proclaimed the restoration of Mir Jaffier, and prepared to depose Mir Cossim. The sense of present danger quelled all their party dissen-

C H A P.

XI.

1768.

8th July.
Commence-
ment of
military
operations.

sions; Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Hastings both entered minutes, in which, without renouncing their former sentiments, they declared their cordial acquiescence in the present measures.

The command of the forces being committed to Major Adams, he took the field at the head of two troops of European cavalry, and ten companies of sepoys^h, with twelve pieces of cannon; and such was the improvidence of the council, that, at the commencement of hostilities, there were not above ten thousand rupees, (1,250l.) in the treasury at Patna. Major Adams could not rely on the natives for assistance, as Cossim had excited a general jealousy against the English, rendered their persons odious, and destroyed all their unshaken partizans.

Successful
enterprises
of Major
Adams.
11th and
14th July.
9th July.

Notwithstanding these disadvantages, and the smallness of his force, Major Adams commenced an active and vigorous campaign. By two skirmishes he cleared the country, crossed the Cossimbuzar river, and attacked the enemy, amounting to ten thousand, who were drawn up in a strong position at Ballasara: they bore his cannonade for some time with unusual firmness, but were, at length, compelled to retreat with precipitation: in this action was killed Mahomed Tuckey Khan, commander of the detachment which slaughtered Mr. Amyatt and his companions.

Major Adams, proceeding towards Moorshedabad, again encountered the enemy, well posted in an intrenchment fifteen feet deep, and defended by a numerous artillery. Unable to carry this formidable position by storm, he made a judicious feint, forced the enemy's strong hold, put them to flight, entered Moorshedabad, and again proclaimed Jaffier subahdar of Bengal.

23d July.

At Moorshedabad he only waited a short time to refresh his troops, then renewing his pursuit, penetrated into the heart of the province, and pervaded the utmost recesses of Bengal, across the numerous

^h Amounting to about six hundred and fifty Europeans, and one thousand or twelve hundred natives.

and wide branches of the Ganges, through marshes and forests. Mir Cossim, unwilling to risque his dominion and life on the event of a single battle, did not lead his troops in person, but made a judicious disposition of them to weary his enemy by delay.

At Nuncas Nullas, the English again encountered a force of twenty thousand horse and eight thousand foot; here, for the first time, they experienced the effects of Cossim's new system of tactics. The troops were posted with great judgment, divided into regular brigades, had a good train of artillery, were clothed and accoutred on the English model, and displayed an order and spirit, which bore some analogy to those of the Europeans. But the English army, animated with resentment, and flushed with success, surmounted every obstacle, drove the enemy off the field, made themselves masters of the whole train of artillery, and took a hundred and fifty boats laden with grain and stores.

Discouraged by this defeat, the nabob's troops did not again venture to fight in the field, but relied on their fortifications as the sole means of defence; yet neither numbers nor fortifications availed. Major Adams next attacked them at Auda Nulla, a post strong by nature and art, protected in front by a swamp, on one side by mountains, and on the other by the Ganges. The Indians had thrown up a great work, on which they mounted a hundred pieces of cannon, and it was defended in front by a ditch fifty-four feet wide, and full of water in every part except toward the mountains. The breadth of dry ground did not exceed two hundred yards, and lay between the swamp and the river. The British commander at first besieged this fortification in form, but, wearied with an inaction of fourteen days, projected an attack on the side of the mountains, where the enemy deemed themselves sufficiently secure. This bold and masterly movement was judiciously executed by Major Irwin; the intrenchments were carried, a general rout ensued, and as many perished in the river as by the sword.

C H A P.

XI.

1763.

2d Aug.
Battle of
Nuncas
Nullas.

Siege and
capture of
Auda Nulla.

21st Aug.
to 4th Sept.

C H A P.

XI.

1763.

Capture of
Monghir.
11th Oct.Massacre of
the English
at Patna.Patna,
taken.

The enemy now abandoned all the country; Major Adams carried his victorious arms to Monghir; and, after a siege of nine days, compelled the garrison, consisting of two thousand, to surrender. To complete the conquest of Bengal, the reduction of Patna alone remained; a detachment was sent from Monghir, under Captain Wedderburne, with orders to blockade the place, and to inform the English prisoners of his approach. The military part of his instructions was performed, but the cruelty of Cossim frustrated the intended communication to the prisoners. Enraged and desperate at the progress of the British arms, the tyrant executed a horrible act of unavailing barbarity. He commanded one Somersⁱ to murder Mr. Ellis, the head of the factory, and about two hundred English prisoners captured with him. The Indian soldiers required that the prisoners should be supplied with arms for their own defence; but were compelled by blows to fulfil the injunctions of Cossim. So unrelenting were these orders, that even an infant child of Mr. Ellis^k was sacrificed, and the only Englishman who escaped from Patna was a physician, named Fullarton, who, a few days before, received a pardon from the nabob. Nor was the tyrant content with this butchery: he put to death more than thirty of his own subjects, whom he suspected of favouring the English, and left their bodies to be devoured by beasts and birds; a peculiar ignominy among the Gentoos: one of these victims was the unfortunate Ramnarain.

Cossim, considering Patna as a last resource, evinced a proportionate energy in the defence. His troops exhibited unusual boldness and discipline, and made a resolute sally, in which they were so fortunate as to blow up a principal magazine; but Patna not being

ⁱ Somers, otherwise Sumroo, otherwise Shimro, was a German, and a general officer in the nabob's service; he had been a serjeant in the French army, from which he deserted to the British, and from them to Cossim: he undertook this horrible butchery when no man in the nabob's army would engage in it but himself.

^k Messrs. Ellis, Hay, Lushington, and six other gentlemen, were cut to pieces and thrown into a well, which was afterwards filled up. The other persons murdered were thrown into another well.

regularly fortified, the batteries soon destroyed the works, silenced the cannon, and made a practicable breach, and after a siege of eight days the city was taken by storm. Thus, in less than four months the whole province of Bengal was subdued by Major Adams, the first European who achieved that important conquest.

C H A P.
XI.

1763.
6th Nov.
Total conquest of Bengal.

Deprived of his last fortress, the nabob, accompanied by the murderer Somers, crossed the Ganges, with all his treasure, into the province of Oude, where he received an asylum from Sujah ul Dowlah, vizier of Shah Allum, the Great Mogul, but was not permitted to introduce his army.

Flight of
Cossim.

CHAPTER THE TWELFTH.

1764 — 1766.

Affairs of India continued. — Disputes at the India House. — Lord Clive appointed chief governor. — Cossim protected by Sujah ul Dowlah, nabob of Oude — who makes hostile preparations against the English. — Death of Major Adams. — Mutinous state of the army. — Battle of Buxar. — Shah Allum escapes to the English camp, and enters into a treaty. — Sujah ul Dowlah solicits peace — which is refused. — Surrender of Chander Geer. — Allahabad, the capital of Oude, taken. — Death of Mir Jaffier. — The council declare Najim ul Dowlah his successor. — Arrival of Lord Clive. — Final overthrow of Sujah ul Dowlah. — He surrenders himself to the English. — An advantageous peace concluded. — Efforts of Lord Clive to restore order and economy. — Mutiny of the military suppressed by Lord Clive. — Prosperity of the company. — The dividends augmented.

C H A P.
XII.

1764.

Disputes at
the India
House.

THE rapid vicissitudes of the company's affairs occasioned a violent sensation among the proprietors of stock in London, and the India House was divided into two zealous and rancorous parties. The deposition of Mir Jaffier gave rise to many animadversions, and the subsequent transactions, which at one period brought the affairs of the company to the verge of ruin, occasioned spirited debates and vehement altercations. A detail of the proceedings would at this distance of time afford neither pleasure nor instruction; and the eloquence displayed both at the India House, and through the medium of the press, only reminds us of the pertinacity with which the adherents of Lord Clive and Mr. Sullivan supported their respective opinions, but inspires no curiosity to examine the arguments which were adduced by either.

Lord Clive
sent to India
as governor-
general.

For some time the interests were almost equally balanced; Mr. Sullivan was continued chairman of the Court of Directors, and every effort to give an

ascendancy to Lord Clive's party was unsuccessful. At length, his adherents, after a long and anxious contest, acquired a superiority; the perilous situation of India pointed him out as the only person capable of retrieving the affairs of the company; he was nominated governor-general, and commander of the forces at Bengal, and, at the request of the proprietors, departed immediately for Calcutta, after receiving the Order of the Bath. Mr. Sumner and Mr. Sykes were at the same time appointed counsellors at the presidency, the former to succeed to the government. Lord Clive, Mr. Sumner, General Carnac, Mr. Verelst and Mr. Sykes, were also constituted a select committee, with special powers.

C H A P.
XII.
1764.

2d May.
1764.

However irritated and indignant against Cossim Ali Khan, the English respected the territories of a neutral power, and therefore, when he had effected his escape, rigidly abstained from pursuing him, and encamped, during four months, on their own side of the river. Sujah ul Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, at first displayed great moderation and prudence in not commencing hostilities in favour of the refugee tyrant of Bengal; but the cause of a native prince, expelled from his dominions by Europeans, without any complaint from his own subjects, excited sympathy, and notwithstanding the remonstrances of the council at Calcutta, on the impropriety of affording protection to Cossim while he professed to be on terms of friendship with them, the nabob of Oude not only persevered in sheltering him from pursuit, but soon began to collect a formidable army. He answered the remonstrances of the council by recriminatory manifestos, terminating in extravagant threats, and even endeavoured, by misrepresentations, to influence Mir Jaffier to renounce the English alliance, and throw himself on the protection of Shah Allum, who then resided with Sujah ul Dowlah. Cossim's troops, although they could not obtain leave to enter the province of Oude, still annoyed the company's forces,

Cossim received and protected by the nabob of Oude:

who makes hostile preparations against the English.

C H A P.

XII.

1764.

June.

Death of
Major
Adams.Mutinous
state of the
army.

and the English commander openly professed an intention of carrying his arms into the dominions of Sujah ul Dowlah. Alarmed at this information, and anxious to retract his hostile professions with the least possible injury to his pride, the prince indirectly made conciliatory overtures to the English government, but explicitly rejected the proposition of yielding up Cossim and Somers, which was made to him as the essential basis of a treaty. Soon afterward, some of Cossim's troops having surprized a party of English, brought their heads in triumph to Shah Allum; the real disposition of Sujah ul Dowlah then became apparent, and, by his assistance, Mir Cossim was enabled to send into the field an army of fifty thousand men, with a proportionate train of artillery.

This hostile movement was probably accelerated by the death of Major Adams, whose name alone was sufficient to excite terror. But the judicious choice of a successor in Major Hector Monro, afforded the enemy no reason to triumph. His force was only nine thousand men, of whom not more than twelve hundred were Europeans, and this small army was in such a state of insubordination and mutiny, that he was compelled to punish the ringleaders to the utmost extent of military severity, by sentencing twenty-four of them to be blown away from the mouths of cannon.^a

^a Sir Hector's own account of this transaction, given in evidence before the committee of the House of Commons, is subjoined at length; it displays the dreadful dilemma to which he was reduced, and the vigour and resolution with which he extricated himself, and saved the company. "I found the army," he says, "Europeans as well as sepoy, mutinous, deserting to the enemy, threatening to carry off their officers to the enemy, demanding an augmentation of pay, demanding large sums of money, which they said had been promised them by the nabob, and disobedient to all order; four hundred of the Europeans had gone off in a body, and joined the enemy some time before I joined the army. This being the situation the army was in, I fully determined to endeavour to conquer that mutinous disposition in them, before I would attempt to conquer the enemy.— I accordingly went with a detachment of the king's and company's Europeans from Patna, with four field pieces of artillery, to Chippera, one of the cantonments; I think the very day, or the day after I arrived, a whole battalion of sepoy, with their arms and accoutrements, went off to join the enemy; I immediately detached about 100 Europeans, and a battalion of

Actuated by the same spirit which distinguished his predecessor, Major Monro made an active and vigorous campaign. He first encountered the Indian army in an advantageous encampment at Buxar, on the river Camnassary, more than a hundred miles above Patna. They were protected by a morass lined with cannon, and a wood sheltered them on the only side which appeared assailable. Near this strong post, Major Monro was attacked by the enemy, who were defeated with the loss of four thousand killed; a hundred and thirty-three pieces of cannon, a great quantity of military stores, and all their tents ready pitched; while in Major Monro's little army, which consisted but of seven thousand and seventy-two men,

C H A P.
XH.

1764.
Battle of
Buxar.

22d Oct.

“sepoys, whose officers told me they thought they could depend upon them not to desert, with two field-pieces, to endeavour to come up with the deserters, and bring them back to me; the detachment came up with them in the night time, found them asleep, took them prisoners, and carried them back to Chippera. The officer who commanded the detachment sent me an express, acquainting me with the hour he would arrive at Chippera with the prisoners. I was ready to receive them with the troops under arms; upon their arrival at Chippera, I immediately ordered their officers to pick me out fifty of the men of the worst characters, and who they thought might have enticed the battalion to desert to the enemy: they did pick out fifty; I desired them to pick me out twenty-four men of those fifty of the worst characters: I immediately ordered a field court-martial to be held by their own black officers, and after representing to the officers the heinous crime the battalion had been guilty of, desired they would immediately bring me their sentence; they found them guilty of mutiny and desertion, sentenced them to suffer death, and left the manner to me; I ordered immediately four of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns, and the artillery officers to prepare to blow them away: there was a remarkable circumstance; four grenadiers represented that as they always had the post of honour, they thought they were entitled to be first blown away; the four battalion men were untied from the guns, and the four grenadiers tied and blown away, upon which the European officers of the battalions of sepoys who were then in the field, came and told me, that the sepoys would not suffer any more of the men to be blown away. I ordered the artillery officers to load the four field pieces with grape shot, and drew up the Europeans with the guns in their intervals; desired the officers to return to the heads of their battalions; ordered them immediately to ground their arms, and if one of them attempted to move, I would give orders to fire upon them, and treat them the same as if they were Surajah Dowlah's army. They did ground their arms, and did not attempt to move, upon which I ordered sixteen more of the twenty-four to be tied to the guns by force, and blown away the same as the first, which was done: I immediately ordered the other four to be carried to a cantonment, where there had been a desertion of the sepoys some time before, with positive orders to the commanding officer at that cantonment to blow them away in the same manner at the guns, which was accordingly done, and which put an end to the mutiny and desertion.” See also a letter from Captain William Jennings, dated 12th February 1764, Reports, &c. vol. iii. p. 364.

CHAP.

XII.

1764.

Shah Allum
escapes to
the English
camp.

29th Dec.

Failure of
Monro at
Chander-
Geer.

Sujah ul
Dowlah so-
licits peace.

of whom eight hundred and fifty-seven were Europeans, no more than eight hundred and seventy-four were returned as killed, wounded, and missing.

The Mogul, who had been detained by Sujah ul Dowlah in an honourable captivity, but escaped from his camp the night preceding this battle, congratulated Major Monro on his victory, and requested the English, whom he considered as the only power in India capable of effecting that object, to assist in restoring him to the throne of Delhi; offering, as a compensation for this benefit, the province of Oude, or any other gratification they might require. The council of Calcutta consented: Shah Allum was received in the English camp as Emperor, and a treaty was concluded, by which he assigned to the company Ghazepoor, and the zemindarry of Rajah Bulwant Sing, belonging to the nisamaut of Sujah ul Dowlah, and they agreed to put him in possession of Allahabad, and the rest of the nabob's dominions.

Major Monro now proceeded to attack the fort of Chander-Geer, situate on the Ganges, supposed to contain all the treasures of Cossim, and the only remaining position on that side the river, retained by the enemy. This place, being on a high hill, was impregnable by assault, and needed neither skill nor ammunition for its defence; the access was steep and narrow, and the besieged could with the stones and rubbish of their own fortifications repel the efforts of valour, and deride the machinations of art. Two successive nights, Major Monro led his gallant followers to the attack of this fortress, and was twice repulsed; the Indians, taught by experience, no longer abandoned themselves to negligent slumber, and the major, reluctantly relinquishing the enterprise, formed his camp under the walls of Benares.

Here Beney Bahadre, the minister of Sujah ul Dowlah, presented himself, making overtures of peace, but Major Monro inflexibly refused to listen to any terms unless the surrender of Cossim and

Somers was first granted. The subahdar, with an inflexibility equally honourable, refused to betray those whom he had engaged to protect; every method was ineffectually tried to effect an accommodation; bribes which might have awakened cupidity in the most stoical mind were refused^b. Sujah ul Dowlah yielded so far as to engage that he would cause Somers to be assassinated; but this expedient being also rejected, the treaty was broken off.

CHAP.
XII.
1764.

Sujah ul Dowlah was not instigated by despair to solicit peace; he was still at the head of a formidable army; yet though elated by Major Monro's ill success at Chander-Geer, he did not attack the British camp, but sent flying parties of horse to harass the out-posts by repeated skirmishes, keeping his main body with the artillery at the distance of fifteen miles. This conduct reduced the British commander to a critical dilemma: he could not safely remain before Benares, nor did he deem it prudent to quit his position, although he was daily more and more straightened by the enterprizes of his enemy.

Harasses
the British
troops.

While affairs were in this situation, Major Monro was recalled, in consequence of the arrangements made by Lord Clive before his departure from England, and the command devolved, *ad interim*, on Major Sir Robert Fletcher. The honourable zeal of this brave officer to distinguish the brief period of his authority by brilliant and useful exertions, fortunately terminated the difficulty in which his predecessor had found himself involved. In opposition to the opinion of his principal officers, he quitted the camp before

Monro
recalled.
6th Jan.
1765.
Succeeded
by Sir Ro-
bert Flet-
cher.

^b The offers were twenty-five lacks of rupees (312,500l.) to defray the expences of the war; the like sum to the army; and eight lacks to Major Monro himself, which with his share of the twenty-five lacks would have made about twelve lacks (or 150,000l.) for himself. In resisting this splendid temptation, Major Monro displayed in impressive colours the gallantry and disinterestedness of the military character. He said, "If the nabob would give me all the lacks in his treasury, I would make no peace with him, until he had delivered up those murdering rascals, for I never could think that my receiving eleven or twelve lacks of rupees, was a sufficient atonement for the blood of those unfortunate gentlemen who were murdered at Patna, nor a sufficient atonement to their weeping parents, friends, and relations."

C H A P.
XII.

1764.
14th Jan.
Who puts
the enemy
to flight.

Surrender
of Chander-
Geer.

Allahabad
taken.

14th Jan.
1765.
Death of
Mir Jaffier.

Benares at midnight, and advanced toward the enemy, leaving a party sufficiently strong to blockade the city during his absence. Three days were employed in reaching the nabob's camp, although but fifteen miles distant; twice they were drawn up to receive him, and on his approach retreated in good order, but the third time fled with precipitation. Being thus delivered from the immediate presence of the enemy, the army was enabled to extend its position, and relieved from the want of forage and provisions.

Sir Robert Fletcher, still anxious to signalize himself, resolved to attack the fortress of Chander-Geer, and the garrison, whose pay was six months in arrear, refusing to obey the orders of their governor, mutinously compelled him to surrender. This gave birth to a most affecting scene. The governor came forth, and, in sight of his troops, delivered the key to Sir Robert Fletcher. Then, shedding tears, he complimented the victor, and apologized, not for his too resolute defence, but for his too speedy surrender. "I have endeavoured," he said, "to act like a soldier, but deserted by my prince, and left with a mutinous garrison, what could I do? God and you" (laying his hand on the Koran, and pointing to his soldiers) "are witnesses, that, to the faith of the English, I now trust my life and fortune."

Profiting by his good success, Sir Robert soon made himself master of Allahabad, the enemy's capital, though defended by a strong wall, and capable of making a vigorous resistance. This conquest seemed utterly to ruin Sujah ul Dowlah's affairs, and to leave his dominions entirely at the mercy of the English.

During these transactions, the death of Jaffier Ali Khan at Moorshedabad materially affected the state of Bengal. By the law of inheritance both in Europe and Hindostan^c, the rights of Jaffier should have

^c It appears, however, that these laws were frequently superseded throughout the Mogul empire.

descended to his grandson, the offspring of his son Miran, who was about six years old; but Jaffier, by a testamentary paper, bequeathed the succession to his natural son^d, Najim ul Dowlah, then about twenty years of age, and whom he had, for some time, associated in the government with him; in his last moments he also gave to his appointed successor a letter of advice, enjoining him to continue the rajah Nundcomar, his own favourite, in the office of prime minister, and to follow his instructions. Lord Clive was not yet arrived, and the council, apprized of the measures adopted in England to abridge their jurisdiction, employed the last moments of their expiring authority for purposes of avarice and ambition^e. Although the importance of the crisis demanded great consideration, and no inconvenience could arise from delay, yet they acted with unwarrantable precipitation, and notwithstanding the debauched and profligate character of Najim ul Dowlah, and the just claims of the infant son of Miran, affected to sanction the will of Mir Jaffier, without even requiring the consent of the Mogul. Thus, they extorted large fees from the weakness and distress of the young nabob^f, while their conduct toward him was replete with harshness and insolence^g. Instead of Nundcomar, they compelled him to confer the naibship, or deputy government of the province, on Mahommed Rhezi Khan, who was considered both by Najim and his

The council declare Najim ul Dowlah his successor.

^d The fact of Najim ul Dowlah's being an illegitimate son is stated on the authority of a letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 30th of September 1765, signed by Lord Clive, W. B. Sumner, J. Carnac, H. Verelst, and F. Sykes: it forms a material point in the consideration of subsequent events.

^e The company highly disapproved their conduct; see letter of the 19th of February 1766. Reports, &c. vol. iii. p. 455.

^f It appears that on this occasion 139,000*l.* sterling were distributed among the council, beside other sums supposed to have been received, but of which no evidence could be obtained.

^g See Najim ul Dowlah's letter to the select committee at Calcutta, Reports, &c. vol. iii. 409. It is however to be observed, that after Lord Clive's arrival, the select committee, on mature investigation, declared many of the charges in this letter void of foundation, *idem*, p. 418.

C H A P.
XII.

1765.

father as an implacable enemy^h. Jealous of Nundcomar's influence, they compelled Najim ul Dowlah to send him to Calcutta, for trial as a traitor, resisting the threats, prayers, and importunities of the youth they had exalted; and, in this instance, even the temptation of a large bribe, which was offered both by Najim and Nundcomar. Most probably the rajah had excited his master to attempt his emancipation from the oppressive authority of the council, but the charge of treason appearing destitute of foundation, he was afterwards discharged.ⁱ

3d May
1765.
Arrival
and regula-
tions of
Lord Clive.
7th.

When Lord Clive arrived at Calcutta, he established the select committee, and formed regulations and covenants calculated to restrain the enormous and flagitious peculations of the company's officers^k. An order was also issued for securing and bringing to Calcutta, all Europeans who had no claim, from indentures, to the protection of the company.

Military
proceedings.

General Carnac, who was previously dispatched to command the army, found Sujah ul Dowlah still meditating an incursion into Bengal; that active and spirited prince, although often defeated in the field, expelled from his best fortresses, deprived of his vizierate, and abandoned by the Mogul, was not divested of his fortitude, or destitute of resources. He made an alliance with Mulbar, a chief of the Mahrattas, the most warlike tribe in India, and still indulged a hope of retrieving his almost desperate

^h In order to obtain this elevation, and in compensation to those who assisted him, Mahommed Rhezi Khan was said to have distributed in gratifications, twenty lacks of rupees. See on this subject, the reports of committees, vol. iii. p. 411, 412, 412.

ⁱ The character of Nundcomar was open to many reproaches; he was supposed to have embezzled a great share of the revenues of Mir Jaffier; he was adverse to the English; and the army, by his means, suffered many inconveniences and privations. See reports, &c. vol. iii. p. 305. 368.

^k A letter from the Court of Directors, dated the 1st of June 1764, requiring the execution of these covenants, was received in Bengal on the 24th January 1765, but had not, on Lord Clive's arrival, been executed by any one of the company's servants; and it does not appear that Mr. Spencer, who was then Governor, ever brought the matter under the consideration of the council board, or gave any notice to the company's servants that they were required to execute such covenants. See reports of committees to the House of Commons, vol. iii. p. 315.

fortunes. General Carnac, apprized of this intention, by a rapid march, effected a junction with Sir Robert Fletcher in the district of Korah, attacked Sujah ul Dowlah at Calpy before he could unite with the Mahrattas, and routed his army with great slaughter. The Mahrattas still threatening an irruption into the nabob's province, General Carnac drove them across the Jumnah, and compelled them to seek refuge in the hills.

C H A P.
XII.

3d May
1765.
Defeat of
Sujah ul
Dowlah.
22d May.
And of the
Mahrattas.

In this emergency, Sujah ul Dowlah displayed genuine greatness of mind, still preserving his word inviolate, he permitted Cossim and Somers to escape¹, and after explaining his design to the General^m, came unattended to the British camp, and surrendered himself a prisoner, to accept peace on such terms as should result from the justice and courtesy of the victor. General Carnac received him with the distinction due to a brave and distressed prince.

Sujah ul
Dowlah
surrenders
himself.

Lord Clive deemed this a crisis of sufficient importance for him to attend in person at the scene of negotiation. An agreement had been previously made with the council, that Shah Allum should be put in possession of the province of Oude; but this project was fraught with great and inevitable mischief. Lord Clive was instructed by the select committee to conciliate the affections of the native powers, and remove their jealousy, by convincing them that he had no views of conquest, but only claimed security in carrying on a free trade, equally beneficial to them and to the company. He was also directed not to extend territorial possession, but to reinstate Sujah ul Dowlah in all his dominions, without retaining any of his strong holds, or insisting on terms which might be irksome to his high spirit, and imply a suspicion of his sincerity.

Treaty of
peace nego-
tiated.

Lord Clive conducted the negotiation in conformity to these instructions, and to his own judgment,

Terms ad-
justed.

¹ The nabob found a refuge among the Rohillas, the German among the Jats.

^m See his letter, the answer, and proceedings thereon. Reports, &c. vol. iii. p. 416.

C H A P.
XII.
1765.

which was strongly repugnant to the system of incroachment on the province of Oude. Convinced that any establishment there, would only augment the number of factories, without increasing trade; he omitted the word factories in the treatyⁿ, but did not covenant against establishing them in so positive a manner as to preclude the company at any future period from adopting the measure. The greater part of the nabob's dominions was therefore restored, but Shah Allum obtained the country of Korah, and part of the province of Allahabad, with a grant of twenty-six lacks of rupees (325,000*l.*) yearly, payable out of the revenues of Bengal. In return for these cessions, the Mogul granted to the company the reversion in perpetuity of Lord Clive's jaghire, or pension, which amounted to nearly 30,000*l.* a year, and the dewanny^o of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa; and Sujah ul Dowlah covenanted to pay to the company fifty lacks (615,000*l.*) to defray the expences of the war. The dewanny was declared subject to no charges, except the fifty lacks to the Mogul, and fifty-three lacks (662,500*l.*) per annum to Najim ul Dowlah for the support of his dignity.

Advantages
to all parties.

This arrangement was highly acceptable to the native princes; the nabob of Oude obtained terms more advantageous than his most sanguine hopes could presage; the Mogul acquired the means of marching an army to Delhi in support of his claim to the throne; and the nabob of Bengal, considering the perplexities attending his title, and the disgraceful state in which he had been placed, was satisfied with the possession of an abundant revenue, and an exemption from controul.

To the company the treaty was pregnant with un-

ⁿ Executed the 16th of August 1765. See the treaty, and the several firmans confirming the various articles, in the reports, &c. vol. iii. p. 446, et seq.

^o The word dewanny is not easily rendered into English. The office of dewanny was anciently understood to comprize the collecting of all the revenues, and after defraying the expences of the army, and allowing a sufficient fund for the support of the government in the province, the collector was to remit the residue to Delhi.

limited advantages. It tended to extinguish the jealousy of the native powers, to insure the gratitude of three princes; and should they, contrary to expectation, endeavour to disturb the possession of the English, deprived them, by the loss of the dewanny, of the strength and riches requisite to make a formidable attempt, either by force or corruption. It promised to terminate revolutions, as the nabob could not gratify the expectations of the venal and mercenary, and no longer possessed a fund for secret services, donations and gratuities. The revenue thus obtained to the company was stated by Lord Clive at nearly one million seven hundred thousand pounds per annum, and his calculation was not exaggerated.

Thus happily and gloriously terminated a contest, in the course of which the British name in India was more than once threatened with annihilation. The motive for hostilities on our part was generally mere necessity: the deposition of Mir Jaffier has been exposed to the greatest share of censure: attempts have been made to acquit him of the murders imputed to him^p, but the arguments in his favour are not supported by adequate proof^q. But even should his acquittal on this point be well-founded, his incapacity and treachery had a direct tendency to ruin himself and the company, and justified the resolutions adopted by the council. As a proof, it is only necessary to observe, that the war against the Shah Zaddah, protracted by him and his son to a ruinous length, was, under his more vigorous successor, ended in a single campaign; and, but for the indolence or treachery of Miran, acting under the instructions of his father and his counsellors, it might have been terminated long before.^r

^p See the dispatch from the select committee to the directors, dated 30th September, 1765.

^q See Mr. Vansittart's letter to the proprietors of East India stock. 1767. p.39.

^r Whatever reasons may be advanced in vindication of the policy of the measure, the council can claim no praise for disinterestedness: they *avowedly* received 200,269l. in presents.

C H A P.

XII.

1765.

Efforts of
Lord Clive
to restore
order and
economy.

Mutiny of
the military.

Having thus fulfilled one important object of his mission, Lord Clive assiduously applied himself to restore subordination and economy; he prevented those rapid promotions to offices of great trust, by which many young men had suddenly acquired immense riches, and materially prejudiced the interest and reputation of the company; he exposed to due reprehension those who by their shameless speculations had obtained unbounded wealth, while the affairs of the company were considered as irreparably deranged: his exertions against those employed in civil capacities gave rise to unceasing enmity and opposition, which pursued him during the remainder of his days, and his efforts to reduce the military to subordination, and deprive them of superabundant advantages, produced a dangerous mutiny, which required all his courage and conduct to suppress.

The seditious disposition of the army has been already mentioned, and it was often severely felt during the war. The military in Bengal enjoyed an additional allowance for subsistence, called double batta, which was not granted in any other part of India. It was obtained at the express desire of Clive, after the battle of Plassey, but, as the motive of necessity had long ceased, the court of directors recommended its discontinuance. The council at Cal-

It is a pleasure, and some relief from the disgust occasioned by such venality, of which repeated instances occur, to record the exemption of one meritorious individual from the general contagion. "Common justice to the principles and conduct of General Carnac," Lord Clive observes, "obliges me further to add, that "I found him the only officer of rank who had resisted the temptations to which, "by his station, he was constantly subject, of acquiring an immense fortune; and "I question much, whether he is not the only man who has, of late years, been "honoured with the command of your forces, without acquiring a very large independence. The letter from the Great Mogul to the governor and council, requesting the permission for him to accept of two lacks which His Majesty is desirous of bestowing on him as a reward for his disinterested services, will corroborate what I have said in his favour; and as this affair, agreeable to the tenor of the covenants, is referred to the Court of Directors, I make no doubt, they will readily embrace the opportunity of shewing their regard to such distinguished merit, by consenting to his acceptance of His Majesty's bounty."

See his admirable letter to the Court of Directors. Reports of committee to the House of Commons, vol. iii. p. 391.

cutta made some efforts for that purpose, which from the feebleness of their authority, were almost ineffectual; but the war being terminated, a sufficient allowance provided for the widows and children of officers, and the select committee having admitted them to a participation in the salt trade, Lord Clive considered this a proper time to execute his instructions; and issued orders for reducing the doublebatta.

C H A P.

XII.

1765.

A spirit of resistance immediately manifested itself; committees of correspondence were established among the officers, and a general conspiracy formed, to compel a submission to their demands by resigning all their commissions. They bound themselves to secrecy by solemn oaths, executed bonds with considerable penalties to secure fidelity to their engagements, and raised a subscription of eighteen thousand pounds to provide for those who, by adhering to the association, might be unable to obtain restitution of their commissions.

May 1766.

It is asserted that this confederacy, strengthened by the accession of numbers, meditated more than a redress of the immediate source of complaint. They determined to procure the abolition of the new covenants restraining the company's servants from receiving presents from the princes of the country; the annihilation of the select committee, and an engagement from government, with a standing order of the board, that no officer in Bengal should be superseded by others appointed in England, or drawn from other settlements in India.

This dangerous conspiracy was kept so profoundly secret, that Lord Clive, who was at Moorshedabad, was only apprized of it a few days before the intended resignation, by a letter from Sir Robert Fletcher. Accompanied by two members of the select committee, he instantly repaired to Monghir, where part of the European soldiers had taken arms. Aided by the persuasion of some superior officers, and the attachment of a black regiment, he brought them back

Suppressed
by Lord
Clive.

C H A P.

XII.

1766.

to their duty, and proceeded to conciliate the army by a distribution of honorary rewards to the non-commissioned officers, by judicious commendations of the black commandants, and by an advance of pay for two months. These measures were attended with signal success; the officers who lately presumed to controul the government, were reduced to the necessity of departing for Calcutta, after seeing themselves deserted by the privates, and many of their stations occupied by subalterns to whom Lord Clive gave commissions. The like event attended the same exertions in the two other brigades, to which the conspiracy also extended.

The mutineers, now despondent and submissive, implored the restitution of their commissions; some of the least culpable were indulged in their request, and others put under arrest, preparatory to trial by a court martial. This court, by a lenient construction of the act for punishing mutiny and desertion in India, would not venture to pronounce capital sentences, but inflicted punishments of an ignominious nature. The governor and council, however, compelled the culprits to return to Europe, and the houses of some of the most intractable were surrounded by a military guard, till the ships were ready for their departure.^t

Satisfaction
of the di-
rectors.

The intelligence of this mutiny produced no great sensation in England, because the account of its rise was accompanied with that of its suppression; the company was now considered exempt from danger, and standing on a basis of unrivalled affluence and commercial prosperity.

Dividends
augmented.

In such circumstances, the proprietors of India stock became desirous to partake in the advantages produced by so imminent a risque of their property. They were entitled to form such expectations, as in the course of the war their dividends were reduced

^t See Strachey's Narrative of the mutiny of the officers of the army in Bengal. Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal, p. 57.

from eight to six per cent. and still remained at that point. The directors, for a time, evaded the proposition by a finesse, but a motion was afterward carried for augmenting the dividend to ten per cent. At the same time, a message in writing was received from the first lord of the treasury, importing that, as the affairs of the company had been mentioned during the last session, and would probably be again taken into consideration, he had apprized the company of the time when parliament would meet, that they might be enabled to prepare their papers for the occasion.

C H A P.
XII.

1766.
18th June.
September.

CHAPTER THE THIRTEENTH.

1766 — 1767. — 1768.

Transactions in America. — Effect of repealing the stamp act — and of the declaratory act. — Contumacy of the colonists. — Disasters in the West Indies. — Scarcity of grain in England. — Embargo laid by order of the privy council. — Meeting of parliament. — Indemnity Bill — strenuously and ably argued. — Lord Chatham's efforts to gain adherents. — Partial change of ministry. — Embarrassment of Lord Chatham — his ill health. — Want of union in the cabinet. — Affairs of the East India Company discussed in parliament. — They declare an increased dividend. — Regulating and restraining bills passed. — Suspension of the legislature of New York. — New duties on exports to America. — Attempts to form ministerial arrangements. — Projects and death of Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer — his character. — Lord North, chancellor of the exchequer — his character. — Grafton administration. — Meeting of parliament. — Restriction of dividends on East India stock. — Nullum Tempus bill rejected. — Occasion of the motion. — Prorogation and dissolution of parliament.

C H A P.
XIII.

1766.
Effect of re-
pealing the
stamp act.

THE repeal of the stamp act diffused great satisfaction through all parts of America; but the rejoicings were calculated to inspire uneasiness and alarm in a prudent administration. The repeal, whether conceded on the ground of right or of expediency, was a triumph to the party in opposition to the British government, and during the demonstrations of joy, the seeds of future resistance were carefully nourished. The courts of justice resumed their functions, and the provincial assemblies their sittings: but there were not wanting many, who, by pamphlets and newspaper publications, prevented the return of cordial affection, and cautioned the colonists against a too implicit reliance on the moderation of the mother-country.

The declaratory act, which, in the expectation of the framers, was to stifle all differences, by the establishment of an undeniable principle, was, on the contrary, exhibited to the Americans, as evidence, that the repeal of the stamp act had been rather extorted than voluntarily conceded, and that the rulers of the British nation still cherished the hope of deriving, on some more favourable occasion, a revenue from the taxation of America. The people were therefore exhorted not to forego the means of establishing their own independence; they were counselled to encourage the breed of sheep for a supply of wool; to promote the culture of flax, hemp, and cotton, and the fabrication of such of the coarser British manufactures as would enable them, on a future contingency, to support associations against importation^a. These measures obviously resulted from the declaratory act, and shewed the fallacy of Dr. Franklin's declaration at the bar of the House of Commons, that the assertion of right would never give the Americans any concern, if not attempted to be carried into practice.^b

C H A P.
XIII.

1766.

Of the declaratory act.

Thanks and addresses to the King were cheerfully voted by all the assemblies; but all expressions which could be construed to imply an obligation to parliament, were studiously avoided; and the Americans soon evinced a disposition not to carry their compliances to any extent which should sanction an opinion of continued obedience. The secretary of state, in his letter to the governors, recommended, that a requisition should be made to the colonial assemblies, for compensations to those who had been injured by the late riots. The governor's message was reluctantly, and somewhat contumaciously, taken into consideration by the assembly of Massachusetts Bay: they did not act upon it until the inhabitants sent express instructions to their representatives on the subject, and until they received information that the

Proceedings
in Massachusetts Bay
on the compensation
act.

^a Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 48.

^b See his examination, Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 331.

C H A P.

XIII.

1766.

In other
provinces.Unwilling-
ness of the
New York
assembly to
provide for
the military.

Lords of the Treasury in England refused to pay the sums of money voted by parliament in 1763, unless the proposed compensation was made. At length, an act to this effect was passed; but to shew the spirit of the colony, it contained a clause of indemnity to the offenders in the riots, who were thus taught to consider themselves, equally with their victims, objects of the care and attention of their legislators^c. Rhode Island and New York were no less dilatory: Maryland alone with laudable eagerness voted a compensation, though there was only one sufferer in the province.

An occasion soon presented itself for displaying the real disposition of the Americans. In the last session of parliament an alteration was made in the American mutiny act, enjoining the colonists to supply the soldiers with salt, vinegar, and beer or cyder. The first attempt to obtain this moderate indulgence was made in New York: the governor applied to the assembly to provide quarters for the troops who were expected, and specified the additional articles required. The assembly were so reluctant in taking this message into consideration, that an address in answer was not voted till the soldiers arrived, and were put to some inconvenience for want of quarters; and the address was not satisfactory to the governor, because no notice was taken of the demand to supply the military with the necessaries required by the act of parliament. Another message was therefore sent to the assembly, and after several messages and replies, they finally resolved not to comply with the amended mutiny act. They affected to consider the principle as not differing from the stamp law, by its tendency to impose a new burthen^d, and, at length, passed an act, which, on their own

^c Stedman, vol. i. p. 50. This conduct of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, affords another instance of the fallacy of Dr. Franklin's answers at the bar of the House of Commons. He said the assemblies had no disposition to encourage the rioters; that they considered them liable to punishment, and would punish them themselves if they could. See Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 337.

^d Stedman, p. 51.

authority, new modelled or repealed a regulation made by the parliament of Great Britain. C H A P.
XIII.

In some other provinces, the act was no better received; and, probably, the zeal of the military in support of government, occasioned this display of resentment in the assemblies. In Duchesse county, being called in to assist the civil power, they were fired on by the mob, and compelled, in their own defence to wound some of the assailants ^f. In New York, some soldiers attempting to cut down the tree of liberty, erected by the inhabitants as a token of triumph on the repeal of the stamp act, the populace resisted, and blood would have been shed, had not the moderate disposition of the commanding officer and magistrates effected an amicable adjustment. 1766.
Conduct of
other provinces.

Aug. 1766.

While thus, in America, a momentary conciliation produced no beneficial effects, the West India islands, where the inhabitants sympathized with the American colonists in resisting the stamp act, were reduced to great distress by the formidable devastations of a hurricane, which began at Martinique, and extending its ravages to several of the leeward islands. Disasters in
the West
Indies.

13th Aug.

Lord Chatham's ministry commenced under inauspicious circumstances. From an uninterrupted succession of rain, the harvest failed in all parts of England; the price of bread was considerably advanced; and as a similar scarcity prevailed on the continent, great alarms were entertained, lest by combinations of monopolists, forestallers, and regraters, and by an unlimited exportation for profit, the country should suffer the miseries of famine. In consequence of these apprehensions, tumults were excited in many parts of the kingdom, which were not repressed without the aid of the military ^g. A proclamation was issued against forestallers and regraters, but that measure not being Scarcity of
grain in
England.

^e Andrews' History of the American War, vol. i. p. 78.

^f Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 101.

^g Special commissions were afterward issued for the trial of the rioters, and some of them paid for their indiscretion with their lives, though many received conditional, and some free, pardons.

C H A P.

XIII.

1766.

Embargo
laid.Meeting of
parliament.
11th Nov.

deemed sufficiently strong, and the city of London having represented to the throne that orders were received for the exportation of large quantities of wheat, while the company of bakers had applied to the city magistrates to prevent a diminution of the small stock of old corn left in the kingdom, the privy council prohibited the export, and laid an embargo on ships preparing to sail with cargoes of grain. Lord Chatham was prevented by illness from attending the council, but in writing recommended the measure. ■

The scarcity formed the principal topic of the King's speech, and was assigned as a reason for convening the parliament early, to deliberate on a matter so important, and particularly affecting the poor. "The urgency of the necessity," the King observed, "called upon me, in the mean time, to exert my authority for the preservation of the public safety, against a growing calamity which could not admit of delay. I have therefore, by the advice of my privy council, laid an embargo on wheat and wheat-flour going out of the kingdom, until the advice of parliament could be taken." The King then recommended to make further provisions, if necessary, with respect to the dearth of corn, and mentioned with regret, the spirit of insurrection displayed in many parts of the kingdom.

The address was opposed in both houses, and amendments moved, importing an intention to bring in a bill for indemnifying those who had advised the embargo.

Indemnity
Bill.

The amendments were rejected; but the ministry having introduced a bill of indemnity in favour of the officers who had acted under the orders of council, several animated debates ensued, in which their conduct was severely arraigned. The assumption of a prerogative to dispense with an existing law, under any circumstance, or for any motive, was decried as unconstitutional and dangerous, and tending

■ Life of Lord Chatham, vol. ii. p. 39.

directly to establish an unqualified and unlimited tyranny. Those who advised the measure were no less open to censure than the officers who carried it into execution; and therefore an amendment was moved, including the ministers in the operation of the bill.

C H A P.
XIII.
1766.

Lord Chatham alleged, in justification of the ministry, that the necessity of the state, to which every consideration of a mere legal nature must bend, required the measure. The act itself, he contended, was wise and necessary, and the prohibition a legal exercise of a legal prerogative. He supported his opinions by reading some passages from Locke on Government. He maintained, that neither he nor his colleagues needed an indemnity; and declared it to be the right and duty of the crown to suspend the execution of a law, for the safety of the people.

Ministry
defended
by Lord
Chatham.

Lord Camden, in supporting the same opinion, argued strongly in vindication of those, who, on an obvious necessity, had done an act which no existing law could be produced to justify. The necessity of a measure, he observed, renders it not only excusable, but legal: and consequently, a judge, when the necessity is proved, may without hesitation declare that act legal, which would be clearly illegal where such necessity did not exist. The crown is the sole executive power, and is therefore intrusted by the constitution to take upon itself whatever the safety of the state may require, during the recess of parliament, which is at most but a forty days tyranny. He concluded by observing, that the power exercised on this occasion was so moderate and beneficial, that Junius Brutus would not have hesitated to intrust it, even to the discretion of a Nero.

By Lord
Camden.

These arguments were combated by Lords Mansfield, Temple, and Lyttleton. They denied that any suspending or dispensing power was, or ought to be, vested in the crown; on the contrary, during the recess of parliament, the King himself was as much

Opposed
by Lords
Mansfield,
Temple, and
Lyttleton.

C H A P.

XIII.

1766.

subject to the law as any other individual, and could not alter or impede its course. The danger of such a prerogative had been frequently adverted to in parliament, and particularly in the bill of rights, the preamble of which expressly mentions the evils resulting to the kingdom from the practice adopted by James II. of assuming a power to dispense with, and suspend, the execution of laws without the consent of parliament. Lord Chatham was accused of perverting the genuine sense of Locke in his quotation; and the effect of the passage on which he founded his argument was forcibly contrasted with the use he had made of that author in the last session. "The last session of parliament," it was said, "set out with the wildest doctrines, extracted piece-meal from that same Mr. Locke in favour of liberty; of liberty run mad with notions extravagant, ridiculous, exploded, and, thank God! by the whole legislature condemned. This session begins with doctrines again extracted also piece-meal by the same persons, from the same author, trumpeting forth a tone of tyranny more hateful and more dangerous, because more extensive, than any promulgated in the worst reign of the worst of the Stuarts." That the act in question had for its object the good of the people, was denied to be a sufficient argument to prove no indemnity requisite. The wildest bigot in the cause of arbitrary power would not pretend that any prerogative could or ought to be exercised but for the good of the people, and precedents were adduced to prove that such acts unquestionably founded on that motive, had, in former times, been the objects of parliamentary indemnity. An expression used by Lord Camden, that the right thus assumed could only amount to a forty days tyranny, was treated with great severity. "Forty days tyranny!" one of the speakers exclaimed, "my Lords, tyranny is a harsh sound. I detest the very word, because I hate the thing. But are these words to come from a noble Lord, whose glory it might

and ought to have been, to have risen by steps that liberty threw in his way, and to have been honoured as his country has honoured him, not for trampling her under foot, but for holding up her head. I have used my best endeavours to answer the argument which is the foundation of the distinction to which the forty days alludes, by argument founded on principles; I will now give the noble Lord one answer more, and it shall be *argumentum ad hominem*. That noble Lord has, I believe, said on other occasions, and he said well, that the price of one hour's English liberty none could tell but an English jury; and juries, under the guidance of a certain noble Lord, have estimated it very high, in the case of the meanest of the subjects, when oppressed only by the servants of the state. But forty days tyranny over the nation by the crown!—who can endure the thought? My Lords, less than forty days tyranny, such as this country has felt in some times, would, I believe, bring your lordships together without a summons, from your sick beds, riding even upon post horses, in hot weather, faster than our great patriots themselves to get a place or a pension, or both; and, for aught I know, make the subject of your consultations that appeal to Heaven which has been spoken of. Yet establish a dispensing power, and you cannot be sure of either liberty or law for forty minutes."

Adverting to the defence which ministers offered for their conduct, it was said: "The noble and learned Lord speaks of meritorious criminality as strange; and it would be so. But meritorious illegality is not so strange, or an action meritorious in itself, and happy in its effects, though against law. The merit consists in running the risk of the law, for the public good; as in the instance alluded to by the other noble and learned Lord on the cross bench, of the Roman General who fought against orders, and was rewarded for saving his country. On the other hand, if an act is authorized by law, there can

C H A P.

XIII.

1766.

be no such risk, or consequently any other merit than that of doing one's duty. I agree with the noble Lord who holds the seals of secretary of state, that he would be a poor minister indeed, who would not run such a risk, when the safety of the state required it. I will say, that without being minister, as an inferior magistrate, or even as a private subject, I should not hesitate, upon good ground of public safety, to stop, if I could, any ship from sailing out of port, to the destruction of the state, although no embargo subsisted; and in this case, if ministers had held to the justification of the particular act upon the circumstances, they had done well. But they have justified the act, by maintaining a power which I cannot acknowledge. I blame not the crown, nor the advisers of the crown, for dispensing good, nor do I wish to hold out to the people a violation of the constitution; but I will blame ministers for asserting a prerogative in the crown, which, instead of dispensing good, would dispense much evil; and if they will hold out a power unconstitutional, and destructive of the vitals of the constitution, they must excuse others for holding up the barrier against such a power, and defending the constitution. I think prerogative is a power, and it is a duty also to protect the people; but I think a dispensing power is no part of the prerogative, and equally against the duty of the prerogative, and the safety and protection of the people: and I am astonished how a House of Lords could have patience to sit and hear so much of it. The dispensing and suspending power, and the raising of money without consent of Parliament, were declared to be precisely alike, and standing upon the very same ground; they were born twins, they lived together, and together were buried in the same grave at the revolution, past all power of resurrection. If a difference were made between raising money, and the suspending or dispensing power, the suspending and dispensing power must be considered as the most dangerous, as that which might do most universal mis-

chief, and with the greatest speed, as it includes the whole. Rashly and wilfully to claim or exercise, as prerogative, a power clearly against law, is too great boldness for this country; and the suspending or dispensing power, that edged tool which has cut so deep, is the last that any man in his wits would handle in England: that rock which the English History has warned against with such awful beacons: an attempt that lost one Prince his crown and his head; and that at length expelled their family out of this land of liberty to the regions of tyranny, as the only climate that suited their temper and genius; a power, the exercise of which stands branded, as the subversion of the constitution, in the front of that truly great charter of your liberties, the bill of rights. A minister who is not afraid of that power, is neither fit for the sovereign nor the subject¹."

C H A P.
XIII.
1766.

These just and forcible objections to the conduct of the ministry, must yield to the irresistible argument of public necessity; but on every constitutional principle, an act of indemnity was indispensably requisite. The question was, on the whole, one of abstract theory: the necessity of the embargo was universally admitted, and although the debates were violent, and the amendment rejected, no protest appears on the journals. The Parliament, in fact, sanctioned the proceeding of ministry by an address to the King, requesting him to continue the embargo, and extend it to several other species of grain.^k

The opposition to Lord Chatham's ministry was not unexpected. The estrangement of Lord Temple

Lord Chatham's efforts to gain adherents.

¹ No details are preserved of this debate. All that is known respecting the progress of the bill through the House of Commons is, that in his eagerness to defend Lord Chatham, Alderman Beckford permitted himself to use an expression, asserting the King's dispensing power in terms so unqualified, that his words were taken down, and he was obliged to apologize. The account of the debate here given is taken from a pamphlet, called, "A Speech against the Suspending and Dispensing Prerogative." It was supposed to be penned by Lord Mansfield, but was, in fact, written by a gentleman at the bar, under the direction of Lord Temple, and with the assistance of Lord Lyttleton.

^k See Debates and Journals.

C H A P.

XIII.

1766.

September.

deprived him of many adherents, and a formidable coalition of parties was formed against him. Anxious to break this combination, he made overtures to the Duke of Bedford. In a conference at Bath, he stated the principal measures which he intended to pursue; to maintain the inviolate observance of the peace, to avoid continental connexions and subsidies, and to observe a rigid economy. The Duke said these were his own measures, and declared his resolution to support them, whether his friends were in or out of office. The topic of America was carefully avoided by both parties.

This interview being understood by the Duke, as well as the minister, as merely preparatory to another, the Bedford party took little share in the early debates of the session: yet the opposition encountered by Lord Chatham formed a striking contrast to the constant approbation which awaited the measures of his last administration, and he felt this change with great sensibility. He found it necessary to gain new friends, and enfeeble his opponents; but his endeavours failed of success. The harsh manner in which he dismissed Lord Edgcumbe from the appointment of treasurer of the household, with a view to gratify the Duke of Newcastle by bestowing it on Sir John Shelly, the Duke's near relation, disgusted many respectable members of administration. The Duke of Portland, the Earls of Besborough and Scarborough, and Lord Monson, withdrew their support, and Sir Charles Saunders, Sir William Meredith, and Admiral Keppel, resigned their places at the board of Admiralty.

24th Nov.
Partial
change of
ministry.

26th.

Chagrin of
the Duke of
Bedford.

To counterbalance this defection, Lord Chatham renewed his overtures to the Duke of Bedford, and, as an introductory measure, offered the first situation at the Admiralty to Lord Gower, who instantly repaired to Woburn for the purpose of consulting the Duke. During his absence, Lord Chatham made a different arrangement. The place of first lord of the Admiralty was given to Sir Edward Hawke; the other

vacant seats at the board were filled by Mr. Jenkinson and Sir Piercy Brett; and Lord Hillsborough and Lord Le Despencer were appointed joint postmasters. On his arrival in town, the Duke of Bedford required of the minister places for several of his friends, but was mortified with the information that no offices were reserved, and even that which has been offered to Lord Gower was disposed of.

This whole transaction is involved in impenetrable mystery: the conduct of Lord Chatham indicates embarrassment and precipitation. Although these appointments served to fill up the vacancies, and complete the numbers of administration, no addition of strength was acquired: the adherents of the Duke of Bedford were disgusted, and those who accepted offices were not conciliated. Lord Chatham was in a similar situation to that of Lord Bute at the close of his administration; the creator of a cabinet who neither loved nor respected him, opposed by a numerous, able, and active party, divested of popularity, and sustained only by the King.

These circumstances, so new, and so insupportable to his ardent and commanding spirit, produced violent effects on his constitution. The gout tormented him incessantly, and the agitation of his mind, no less than his corporeal sufferings, impelled him to frequent change of residence. From London he went to Bath; dissatisfied with Bath, he attempted to return to London, but was detained by his disorder at Marlborough; he next retired to Hampstead, but soon disliked that situation, and repurchased his former residence at Hayes. His mind was agitated by passions inimical to his repose, and his spirits were occasionally depressed almost to despondency. He was unable to attend public business, and the other members of the cabinet, considering his health irreparably injured, projected new arrangements, and adopted measures not only without consulting him, but in direct opposition to his

C H A P.

XIII.

1766.

Embarrassment of Lord Chatham.

His ill health.

Feb. 1767.

March.

C H A P.

XIII.

1767.

known opinions¹. Such was the situation to which that great minister was reduced, who had recently declared in the cabinet, his resolution not to sanction measures which he was not allowed to guide. Such were the consequences of forming, what Mr. Burke afterward, with no less wit than truth, described as, “a checkered and speckled administration; a piece of joinery, so crossly indented and whimsically dovetailed; a cabinet so variously inlaid; here a bit of black stone, and there a bit of white; patriots and courtiers; King’s friends and republicans; whigs and tories; treacherous friends, and open enemies; — that it was indeed a very curious shew, but utterly unsafe to touch and unsure to stand on.” The same author, pursuing the subject, has observed, “when his Lordship had executed his plan, he had not an inch of ground to stand upon; when he had accomplished his scheme of administration he was no longer a minister.”^m

Want of
union in
the cabinet.

The want of union in the cabinet was evident in many of the proceedings in parliament. When the chancellor of the exchequer proposed the land-tax in the committee, he stated it at four shillings in the pound: “A sum,” he added, “necessary for one year longer, to give room for the most brilliant operation of finance ever seen in England; to ensure to us dignity abroad, stability at home, and enable us to enter with advantage into any future war.” The proposition was resisted by the country gentlemen, who contended for the reduction of the land-tax, according to the usual practice in times of peace, to three shillings in the pound, and derided the mighty consequences which were promised to result from the additional shilling, as it would produce only five hundred thousand pounds. Mr. Charles Townshend not having prepared his friends to support his proposition, the new adherents of ministry declared that the land-tax ought

¹ From the Life of Lord Chatham, vol. ii. chapters 32 and 33.

^m Speech on American Taxation. Burke’s Works, vol. i. p. 564, quarto.

to be perpetuated at four shillings in the pound. This opinion was combated with much asperity, and treated as a breach of faith. An amendment, changing the supply from four to three shillings, was moved by Mr. Grenville, and carried by a majority of eighteenⁿ. Thus the chancellor of the exchequer was in a minority on a question of finance: an extraordinary indication of weakness in the cabinet.

The disunion of the ministry was no less perceptible in the affairs of the East India Company, which in pursuance of the intimation to the directors, early occupied the attention of parliament. Their charters, treaties with the country powers, letters, and correspondence with their servants in India; the state of their revenues in Bengal, Bahar, Orissa, and all other places, were ordered to be laid before the House, together with an account of all expences incurred by government on the Company's behalf. Violent debates ensued, and a petition being presented from the company, the order for printing the private correspondence was discharged. This extensive enquiry introduced the discussion of many relative and collateral topics, and among others a doubt was suggested concerning the right of the company to the territories acquired in India. The agitation of this question produced many animated speeches; the interference of the House of Commons was strongly deprecated; it was urged that the difficulty might be solved in the courts below, that house not being by the constitution, the interpréter of laws, or the decider of legal rights.

The chancellor of the exchequer declared his disinclination to try the question in the house, and recommended an amicable agreement with the company. A large party of the proprietors, though strenuous in maintaining their claim to those possessions during the remaining term of their charter, were rather disposed to prevent litigation by a reasonable composition, and prepared proposals for an adjustment of the dispute.

C H A P.

XIII.

1767.

Affairs of
the East
India Com-
pany.

ⁿ 206 against 188.

C H A P.

XIII.

1767.

May.

20th.

When this scheme was agreed to by the directors and presented to the ministry, their want of cordiality occasioned new embarrassments: after the proposals had been delivered to several members of administration in succession, they all declined taking any part in the negotiation out of the house; and a petition was presented to parliament, containing two sets of proposals for a temporary agreement during three years.

On the basis of one of these proposals, a bill was framed, binding the company to pay to government the sum of four hundred thousand pounds a year, by half yearly payments, and to indemnify the nation, should any loss be sustained in consequence of the imposition of certain inland duties, and the allowance of some drawbacks granted at their request. The term, instead of three, was limited to two years, to commence from the first of February 1767.

6th May.
Dividends
increased.

While this affair was in agitation, the company proposed, at a general court, an increase of dividend; justifying the measure by the state of their finances, as they would be enabled, before the month of February, to discharge all their debts, and pay the increased annuity°. The ministry wisely considering this as a dangerous delusion, calculated to renew the fatal effects of the South Sea Scheme, by letters to the directors, recommended the court not to augment the interest till their proposals were fully discussed in parliament. The proprietors, however, slighted the admonition, and declared a dividend for the ensuing half year, at the rate of twelve and a half per cent.

Regulating
and restrain-
ing bills.

In consequence of this proceeding, two bills were brought into parliament; one for regulating the qualifications of voters in trading companies; the other for restraining the making of dividends by the East India Company. The latter bill rescinded the recent resolution, and restrained them from making any dividend exceeding ten per cent.

° Short View of the Laws subsisting with respect to the East India Company, 1767, p. 9.

This measure occasioned a spirited opposition; the company, alarmed at the encroachment on their supposed privileges, petitioned the house, and also proposed, if the bill were laid aside, to bind themselves for the time of their agreement with government, not to extend their dividends beyond the limits indicated in the restraining bill. The petition and proposal were equally disregarded, and the bill was sent up to the Lords, where it was no less strenuously opposed. The whole strength of the anti-ministerial parties was combined, and on the third reading the minority divided forty-four against fifty-nine. A long, learned, and argumentative protest in sixteen articles was entered on the journals, and signed by nineteen peers.

C H A P.
XIII.
1767.

26th June.
Protest.

The contumacious conduct of the legislature of New York was deservedly reprobated, and, in the House of Commons, some rigorous coercive measures were proposed, but, at length, it was thought sufficient to frame a law, prohibiting the governor, council, and assembly of that province, from passing or assenting to any legislative act, for any purpose whatsoever, till the terms of the American mutiny act should be complied with. This bill was opposed in a speech of considerable length by Governor Pownall, whose arguments were supported by Alderman Beckford, but without effect.

Suspension
of the legis-
lature of
New York.

15th June.

Another measure respecting America was at least impolitic, because it tended to revive and give a new direction to those disputes which had compelled the legislature of Great Britain to repeal the stamp act, under circumstances not honourable to the national dignity. This measure was the imposition of certain duties on glass, paper, paste-board, white and red lead, painters' colours, and tea, payable on the importation of those articles into the American colonies, to be applied to the purposes specified in the stamp act. The bill also contained a clause for discontinuing the drawback on the exportation of china-ware to America, and laid some restraints on the practice of smuggling. By another act, these and all other

New duties
on exports to
America.

C H A P.

XIII.

1767.

Com-
mis-
sioners
established.

customs and duties payable in America, were put under the management of resident commissioners. These acts met with no opposition in either house; the right of Great Britain was looked upon as indubitable, and the expediency of the propositions was not considered liable to objection.^p

The principal remaining transactions of this protracted session were, an addition to the stipend of half-pay lieutenants in the navy; the grant of an annuity of eight thousand pounds to each of the King's brothers, the Dukes of York, Gloucester, and Cumberland, and a marriage portion of forty thousand pounds to the King's sister, the Princess Carolina Matilda, who had espoused the King of Denmark.^q

Attempts
to form
ministerial
arrange-
ments.

July.

Before the prorogation of parliament, the ministry was considered on the eve of dissolution. General Conway declared his resolution to resign, though he consented to continue in office till a successor was nominated. He assigned, as a reason, his impatient desire to be again united with his friends, and reluctance in continuing to oppose them. Lord Northington announced a similar determination, alleging his inability to attend public business, on account of ill health. In consequence of these intimations, the King wrote to Lord Chatham, informing him of his design to make some alterations in the ministry, and requiring his advice and assistance. Lord Chatham returned a verbal answer, excusing himself from interfering in any new arrangement, as his health was too much impaired for exertion.

The parties in opposition knowing these facts, entertained hopes of a speedy and total change in the cabinet. The Duke of Newcastle, anxious to prevent the effect of separate overtures to the bodies composing the opposition, was strenuous in cementing the union between the Bedford and Rockingham parties.

^p Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 52.

^q The parliament was not prorogued till the 2d July; the debates are not preserved at length.

An offer was speedily made from the Duke of Grafton to the Marquis of Rockingham ; but he declined entering into any negotiation without the advice of his friends. The leaders of opposition held a meeting, to prepare necessary arrangements ; but they could not agree in some essential nominations ; the conference terminated abruptly, and though renewed on a subsequent day, as none would recede from their former opinions, the parties again separated. The ministry therefore retained their situations.

The inflexibility, thus displayed, rendered it impossible for the King to employ either the Duke of Bedford, or the Marquis of Rockingham, for they had refused to accept official situations separately, and could not agree on such terms as might enable them to act together. The ministry, finding that no conditions they could offer, would enable them to acquire strength by a junction with their opponents, were obliged to conduct the public business unassisted.

Lord Chatham's health was now deemed irrecoverable, and, in fact, the ministry were neither benefited by his advice, nor supported by his popularity. They wanted a distinguished leader, of talents, character, and reputation, who could give efficacy to their measures, and by force of superior powers, enchain those minor pretenders, who, in the absence of such a chief, disdained submission, and embroiled the cabinet. The Chancellor of the Exchequer had before entertained similar views, and now projected a new administration, of which he should be the leader. His talents were amply sufficient to justify the intention, and he could have united a body more respectable, more competent, and more capable of cordial and beneficial co-operation than those who were at the helm. Under him the ministry would have assumed, at least, a more decided character, and the public no longer would have felt that they retained their situations merely by the want of union in their adversaries, and stood only by their own weakness. He obtained

Projects
and death
of Charles
Townshend.

C H A P.

XIII.

1767.

4th Sept.

His cha-
racter.

for his brother, Lord Townshend, the vice-royalty of Ireland, designated Mr. Yorke, son of the late Lord Hardwicke, for chancellor, and probably had made other appointments, when his life was unexpectedly terminated by a putrid fever.

Charles Townshend, from whose splendid abilities government was expected to receive a new impulse, and whose talents were employed in an attempt to rescue the administration from the feebleness of fluctuating councils, was descended from Charles Viscount Townshend, the able and upright minister of the House of Brunswick. He passed through the schools with distinguished reputation, and was celebrated for that pointed and finished wit which rendered him the delight and ornament of parliament, and the charm of private society. In his speeches he brought together in a short compass all that was necessary to establish, to illustrate, and to decorate that side of the question which he supported. He stated his matter skilfully and powerfully; his style of argument was neither trite and vulgar, nor subtle and abstruse. He excelled in a most luminous explanation and display of his subject^r. His defects arose from his lively talents and exquisite penetration: he readily perceived and decried the errors of his co-adjutors, and from the versatility of his political conduct acquired the nick-name of the weather-cock. He sat in parliament twenty years, and successively filled the places of lord of trade, and of the Admiralty, secretary at war, paymaster of the forces, and chancellor of the exchequer, in which offices he executed business with such accuracy and dispatch, as demonstrated that genius and industry are not incompatible. He was carried off in the meridian of life, at the age of forty-two, at a time when it might be hoped his lively talents were matured by experience, and their irregular sallies of his versatile temper, subjected to the restraints of judgment.

^r Burke's Works, vol. i. p. 566.

This event renewed the difficulty of effecting a ministerial arrangement; the chancellorship of the Exchequer was filled *ad interim* by Lord Mansfield. It was offered to Lord North, who, for some reasons which are not precisely known, declined accepting it. The offer was subsequently made to Lord Barrington, who had discharged the duties of the same station with distinguished ability, under the administration of the Duke of Newcastle, during a period of no inconsiderable difficulty. Lord Barrington expressed great reluctance at being placed in a situation to which he thought Lord North's parliamentary talents more equal, but declared his readiness to undertake the office from a sense of duty to his King and country, if a renewed application to Lord North should fail; a negotiation was attempted with the Duke of Bedford, but without effect, and at length Lord North was prevailed on to accept the office.*

Lord North, eldest son of Francis Earl of Guilford, was now in the thirty-sixth year of his age: he commenced his education at Eton, and completed it at Oxford, with considerable reputation for his proficiency in classical literature. His elegant taste as a scholar was eminent through a life fully occupied with the most momentous public concerns. On his travels he applied with much assiduity to the acquisition of diplomatic knowledge, and studied with great success the Germanic constitution, under the celebrated Mascove. He commenced his parliamentary career in 1754, and during Mr. Pitt's administration, in 1759, obtained a seat at the Treasury Board; he was removed by the Rockingham ministry, in 1765, but, with Lord Chatham, came again into office, as joint paymaster of the forces. His talents, erudition, and experience, eminently qualified him for the important situation he was now called upon to fill. His abilities for debate were universally acknowledged, and had been advantageously displayed in the motions against Wilkes, and in the discussions on India affairs.

C H A P.

XIII.

1767.

12th Sept.

1st Dec.

Lord North
Chancellor
of the Ex-
chequer.
His cha-
racter.

* From private information.

C H A P.

XIII.

1767.
5th Dec.
Grafton
administra-
tion.
20th Jan.
1768.

February.
March.

24th. Nov.
1767.

Restraint on
grain.

Restriction
of dividends
on East
India stock.
15th Jan.
1768.

Mr. Thomas Townshend succeeded Lord North as paymaster, and Mr. Jenkinson was appointed lord of the Treasury; Lord Northington and General Conway resigning, Lord Gower was made president of the council, Lord Weymouth secretary of state, and Lord Sandwich joint post-master-general. These promotions indicated an accommodation between the ministry and the Bedford party, and the cabinet was further strengthened by the appointment of Lord Hillsborough to the office of secretary of state for America. The ministry, thus modelled, was called the Duke of Grafton's administration; for although Lord Chatham still retained his place, he was incapable of transacting business; in consequence of which, the privy seal was for a short time put in commission, though it was afterward restored to him.

These changes were effected during the sitting of parliament, but as the King in his speech from the throne, announced that they were called together merely to transact the urgent public business, that a dissolution might take place at a time not inconvenient to the people, no affairs of importance were agitated. The King's speech principally recommended to attention, the relief of the poor, who still suffered from the high price of provisions, and particularly of corn. Petitions on this subject were presented from the city of London, and from Devizes, and an act was passed similar to that of the preceding session, prohibiting the export, and encouraging the importation of grain.

The act of the last session, restraining the East India Company from increasing their dividend beyond ten per cent. being expired, was now renewed. The company strenuously resisted this interference in their affairs, and presented a petition against the bill. As a chartered body, they claimed exemption from such authority; and, as British subjects demanded relief from a restraint, which, if urged as a precedent, would affect all the public and private property in the kingdom. The bill, however, passed the House of Com-

mons by a great majority, and the House of Lords, notwithstanding a vehement opposition, which produced a long protest, signed by eleven peers.

C H A P.
XIII.

1767.
8th Feb.
Protest.

In this session, a motion was made by Sir George Savile, a conspicuous member in opposition, to bring in a bill for quieting the possessions of the subject, and for amending, and rendering more effectual an act passed in the twenty-first year of James I. for the general quiet of the subject, against all pretences of concealment whatever. The intended law is commonly denominated the *Nullum Tempus* bill; the motion was rejected, after a violent debate by a majority of twenty only^s, and as the occasion and nature of the motion excited a considerable share of interest, a succinct account is given of the transactions by which it was produced.

17th.
Nullum
Tempus
bill.

Rejected.

The Portland family, in consequence of a grant made by William III. to their illustrious ancestor of the honour of Penrith, in the county of Cumberland, *with the appurtenances*, had been, about seventy years, in the possession of the forest of Ingle-wood, and the soccage of the castle of Carlisle, the value of which is stated at about thirty thousand pounds or one thousand pounds a year. Sir James Lowther, conceiving these premises not to be included in the terms of the grant, presented a memorial to the treasury, praying a lease of his Majesty's interest therein, for three lives, on such terms as should be thought proper. This memorial being referred to the surveyor-general, he reported, that, in his opinion, the Duke's title did not extend to the subject in question, and recommended that a lease should be granted, as requested, at a reserved rent of fifty pounds per annum for the soccage of Carlisle, and thirteen shillings and four-pence for the forest, and a third of the rent of such lands and hereditaments in either place, as Sir James should recover. This demise was supposed to be in conformity to the civil-list act.

Occasion
of the
motion.

9th July
1767.

7th Aug.

^s 134 against 114.

C H A P.
XIII.

1767.
2d Sept.
8th Oct.
9th.

The Duke received no official notice of these proceedings, but when informed of the transaction, entered caveats in the proper offices, and requested the treasury board to postpone the consideration of the memorial, and grant him permission to be heard by counsel.

10th Oct.

In consequence of this application, the secretary of the treasury notified to his Grace that his claim would be referred to the surveyor-general, who would at the same time, be instructed to revise the report on the memorial; and the Duke was assured no further proceedings should be adopted till his title had been stated, referred to, and reported on by the proper officer, and fully and maturely examined by the treasury board. The Duke's agents proceeded in their researches after documents to support his title, and to invalidate the report of the surveyor-general; for which purpose they deemed it necessary to obtain an inspection of certain deeds or evidences in the surveyor's office; but this was peremptorily refused. His Grace presented a memorial to the treasury, by which, in regard that all public records ought to be inspected for the benefit of the parties interested, the lords of the treasury were prayed to direct the surveyor-general to permit the Duke's agents to inspect, and take copies, if necessary, of all the surveyor's court-rolls, and other muniments and writings in his custody, relative to the matters in question.

20th Oct.

2d Dec.

The Duke was informed that their lordships granted his request as to the inspection of the surveyor's office, not on the foundation of right, but as a matter of candour and civility. The order for this purpose was not readily obtained, and when the surveyor-general was informed of the permission given by the treasury, he stated to the board that the surveys and evidences in his custody were not public records, but kept therefor the King's use only, that permitting the King's deeds and evidences to be inspected by agents of persons who avowedly intended to contest the rights of

the Crown, would be a bad precedent, and might be detrimental to His Majesty's interest on future occasions. He added, that in his judgment, the shortest way would be to try the right of the Crown, which Sir James Lowther was ready to do at his own expence, if the board would grant him the requested lease. In consequence of this letter, the treasury, notwithstanding the caveats which had been entered, passed the grant to Sir James, and then apprized the Duke of its being done.

C H A P.

XIII.

1767.

22d Dec.

This lease being considered as an affair of party, all the vehemence of party was exercised in discussing it. The Duke's friends contended that the grant made by William III. comprized, in its general terms, the premises now leased to Sir James Lowther, or, if not, that length of possession ought, as in the case of private individuals, to be a bar against all questions of title. The unpopularity, tyranny, and danger of resumptiions by the Crown were strongly urged, and the ministry were accused of attempting to revive that odious maxim, *nullum tempus occurrit regi*.

On the other side, it was argued, that the general words in the grant did not convey any thing more than was exactly described, with its obvious and necessary appurtenances. That, even admitting King William's right to grant estates in fee simple to the prejudice of his successors, still such grants ought to be read with great strictness, and not in a manner so loose as to permit an estate of a thousand pounds a year to pass in mere general terms. The length of possession, it was said, instead of being an argument in the Duke's favour, presented an instance of the moderation of government, who were content merely to try a claim to a valuable estate, without entering into a question respecting the arrears incurred by seventy years possession, amounting at least to seventy thousand pounds.

* Much rancour was displayed in attributing the grant to the influence and exertions of the Earl of Bute, in favour of Sir James Lowther, who was his son-in-law.

C H A P.

XIII.

1768.

These arguments do not appear satisfactory : it is obvious that there was a disposition in the ministry to gratify Sir James Lowther at the expence of the Duke of Portland, and, in that view, the transaction was not honourable either to the ministry or to the person preferred. The length of possession, if not a sufficient bar to every claim, ought at least to have procured for the possessor a refusal of the lease on equitable terms ; and, on the whole, it was unbecoming the dignity of government to enter into such a contest with a subject. The property was not of sufficient value to afford an excuse for impelling the Sovereign to appear in his own courts as suitor against the descendant of a man whose zeal in establishing the Protestant succession, though liberally, was not superabundantly rewarded.

The repeated complaints of the Duke's friends that he was ill-treated, and trifled with by the officers of government, seem void of foundation. They did their duty with candour, temper, and propriety. Still less credit attaches to the assertion that the motive of passing the grant was to secure an influence at the ensuing general election : the estate was not of sufficient importance to affect in any great degree, a county election, and as the grant was avowedly expedited for the mere purpose of preventing the claim from being argued in council, where it could not be legally decided, the transfer could not be attended with quiet possession, so as to give the supposed influence."

10th Mar.
1768.
Prorogation.

After passing the supplies, and some private bills, the King put an end to the session. In his speech he thanked the parliament for their signal proofs of affectionate attachment to his person, family, and government, faithful attention to the public service, and earnest zeal for the preservation of our excellent constitution.

12th Mar.
Dissolu-
tion of
parliament.

Two days afterward the parliament was dissolved by proclamation.

^u These facts are taken from, " The Case of the Duke of Portland respecting " Two Leases lately granted to Sir James Lowther ;" " A Reply to the Case of the " Duke of Portland," and " Observations on the Power of Alienation in the Crown."

CHAPTER THE FOURTEENTH.

1767—1768.

State of Europe. — Power of the Jesuits. — Their expulsion from Spain and Naples — and final suppression. — State of France. — Seizure of Avignon. — War in Corsica — the island subdued by the French. — War between the Turks and Russians. — Affairs of America. — Exertions against the new taxes. — Disputes between the governor and legislature of Massachusetts Bay. — Proceedings of the assembly — their circular letter. — Libels on the governor. — Prorogation of the assembly — their inflexibility — and dissolution. — Temper of the people. — Seizure of Hancock's sloop. — Town meetings. — Convention. — Arrival of the troops. — Tranquillity of New York. — Affairs of Ireland. — Brief retrospect. — The Lord Lieutenant obliged to resign. — Lord Townshend appointed. — Efforts of the people to alter the constitution of parliament. — An octennial bill is at length passed, and receives the Royal sanction.

ALTHOUGH the continent of Europe was at this period nurturing the principles which have since produced tremendous changes, no transaction yet appeared to interfere with the immediate welfare or tranquillity of Great Britain.

The event which most immediately affected the interests of mankind was the fall of the Jesuits. That body, by their learning, activity, intrigue, and federal union, had acquired unlimited authority in all Catholic countries; they regulated the consciences of crowned heads; at their suggestions treaties were confirmed or broken, and war or peace prevailed. Their influence extended to all parts; as preceptors they had the advantage of discerning, and giving an inflexion to the tempers, passions, and habits of youth; of acquiring an unlimited ascendancy over the mind; of enslaving the

C H A P.
XIV.

1767.
State of
Europe.

Power of
the Jesuits.

C H A P.

XIV.

1767.

timid, restraining the proud, and bending even the energies of courage and virtue to their own peculiar views. Their orders, and many regulations of their society, were an inscrutable mystery, but so speedy was their intelligence, and so prompt their communication, that they seemed every where to be the first apprized of occurrences, and earliest and most abundantly benefited by them. Their activity and influence over the timid and superstitious, threw enormous wealth into their hands, and their ambition was supposed equal to their power. From their first establishment as an order, they were occasionally regarded with suspicion and inquietude, and already several principal powers in Europe had expelled them, as a body dangerous to government^a. In some countries, intrigue, superstition, or fear had procured their re-admission, but the present period was marked for their total expulsion and total suppression. De Choiseul, the French minister, conceived this great project, in which he was animated by political considerations, and by an attachment to the modern systems of free-thinking philosophers. He procured in 1764 a suppression of their order in France, although the members were still permitted to continue their residence as individuals, conforming to the spiritual and civil ordinances of the realm.

Their expulsion from Spain.

In Spain and the transatlantic dominions of that country, their influence was most extensive, and from the bigoted attachment of the Spaniards to the Catholic religion, and to the Jesuits in particular, their establishment was deemed perfectly secure, and their government as permanent and efficient as that of the King himself. Yet, in the midst of this security, and without any previous indication of jealousy or displeasure, their total ruin was effected. This measure was planned by De Choiseul, and conducted by means of the

^a They were expelled from France in 1594, but re-established in 1603; from England in 1604, from Venice in 1606, and from Portugal in 1759; under pretence of having instigated the families of Tavora and D'Aveiro to assassinate King Joseph I.

Marquis D'Ossun, the French ambassador at Madrid, who concerted his measures with Charles III. King of Spain, and the Count D'Aranda his prime minister.

C H A P.
XIV.

1767.
31st March.

The execution of the design was sudden and decisive; at midnight large bodies of the military surrounded the six colleges of the Jesuits in Madrid, forced the gates, secured the bells, and placing a sentry at the door of each cell, commanded the fathers to rise, summoned them into the refectory, and read the King's order for instant transportation. The royal seal was put on all their effects, except a few necessities which they were permitted to carry away. All the hired coaches and chaises in Madrid, together with several waggons, being engaged and distributed in proper places, their journey toward Carthagená immediately began. The inhabitants of the capital, in the morning, learned the intelligence with surprize and consternation, but had not the power, if they had inclination, to interfere in preventing the execution of the King's command.

Three days afterward, the Jesuits' college in Barcelona was surrounded, and the members transported with circumstances exactly similar. The same measures were adopted at the same hour in every part of the kingdom; ships were provided in the different sea ports for carrying the Jesuits to the ecclesiastical state; and the most effectual means were adopted for preventing any communication with the King's foreign dominions. The royal ordinance for the expulsion of the Jesuits was then published, by which all their property was confiscated; a small pension was assigned to each individual, payable only while he resided in a place appointed, and abstained from offence in his writings and conduct, and the misdemeanor of one was declared sufficient to subject the whole body to a forfeiture of their stipends. The King's subjects were forbidden, under penalties of high treason, to correspond with the Jesuits; they were enjoined to observe strict silence, and not to write, declaim, or

3d April.

C H A P.

XIV.

1767.

make any movement for or against these measures. The same regulations extended to the Indies, where a similar seizure and expulsion took place, and an immense property was acquired by government.

All men were surprized at the secrecy and rigour of this transaction, and were therefore prepared to receive and credit the accounts which might be given of the motives of the Spanish court. Extensive projects, and dangerous machinations were imputed to the Jesuits, and all the dread and jealousy which other nations entertained of their malignity and influence were exerted in finding the causes of their unexpected downfall. It was currently believed that they had fomented, and perhaps excited a dangerous popular insurrection, which the year before had agitated the capital, and compelled the King to dismiss his ministers.

Ill treatment.

But whether the crimes or intentions imputed to the Jesuits were founded on fact, or the mere suggestions of a party inimical, not only to their establishment as a body, but to the Christian religion in general, their sufferings entitle them, as men, to commiseration. The horror of being suddenly torn from their homes, and all their social connexions, was augmented by the terrors of an uncertain destination, and the anticipation of an unwelcome reception. Men who were, for the greater part, advanced in years, all of them used to the indulgences of an honourable situation, and to the ease of a sedentary life, were now reduced to the allowance and treatment of soldiers in transports. When they arrived before Civita Vecchia, the Pope, Clement XIII. prohibited their landing in his dominions: they were therefore obliged to await fresh orders from Spain. A negotiation was opened with the republic of Genoa for permission to land them in Corsica: before the treaty was concluded the Spanish admiral received orders to sail for the port of Bastia, but the Corsican governor would not suffer them to disembark. At length the sanction of the Genoese government was obtained; the trans-

22d May.

ports were ordered to the ports of Calvi, Algaiola, and Ajaccio, and the surviving Jesuits, amounting to two thousand three hundred, were put on shore.

The example of the King of Spain was immediately followed by his son Ferdinand VI. King of Naples, and afterwards by Parma: and in 1773 the order was suppressed by Clement XIV. who was elevated to the papacy on that express condition.

Although, by a resolute exertion of the civil power, this formidable society was thus reduced, there is great reason to doubt that the strength of the European governments was augmented by their fall. If they were really guilty of dangerous and treasonable designs, sufficient means were not wanting, especially in arbitrary monarchies, to punish the guilty and disperse their adherents. Even the whole order might have been reformed, their wealth diminished, their power abridged, and their numbers reduced. But the destruction of a society which included so much learning and ability, and respectable from connexions and able publications in literature and theology, diminished the general credit of the established religion, and gave new spirit to those who already meditated the destruction both of Christianity and monarchy.

France was in a state of the greatest political and moral depravity. The King, immersed in sensual enjoyment, neglected the affairs of government; the kingdom was ruled by his mistresses and ministers. The parliaments impeded the exertions of government by cavils and contests, in which the sole aim was to acquire undue authority. The treasury was empty, although injudicious taxes oppressed the people; and famine was felt in many parts of the country. Yet France was the centre of dissipation and infidelity. Already a sect of pretended philosophers had obtained an extensive influence; who, avowing war against popery, aimed at the subversion of all religion, and the destruction of regal power^b. The government

C H A P.
XIV.

1767.
8th June.
They are
expelled
from Na-
ples; and
the order
suppressed.

State of
France.

^b A Letter from Horatio Walpole, afterwards Earl of Orford, to General Conway, dated the 28th of October 1765, contains full, explicit, and undeniable evi-

CHAP. was insensible of the approaching danger; and
 XIV. Choiseul, intent on schemes of conquest, and aug-
 1767. mentation of territory, wanted only a well reple-
 nished treasury to embroil all Europe^c. But the
 finances were fatally deranged; the East India Com-
 pany bankrupt, and the creditors of state anxious,
 dissatisfied, and alarmed.

Seizure of
 Avignon.

Restrained from entering into extensive wars, the French took advantage of the still greater weakness of the Pope, and seized on his dominions in Avignon, and the Venaissin, without the slightest claim of right.

War in
 Corsica.

The island of Corsica also offered temptation to their ambition. Oppressed by the Genoese, the people of that isle had long signalized themselves by an obstinate, and often well-conducted resistance. Under the government of Pascal Paoli, whom they elected general of the island in 1755, they made still more respectable exertions: their improvements in civilization bore some proportion to their increased energy in arms; and they became so formidable, that the Genoese, despairing of achieving a conquest, sought in 1761, to lure them into their pristine subjection, by a conciliatory manifesto. This also failed in its effect;

dence on this subject: "The Dauphin," he says, "will probably hold out a few days. His death, that is, the near prospect of it, fills the philosophers with the greatest joy, as it was feared he would endeavour the restoration of the Jesuits. You will think the sentiments of the philosophers very odd state news — but do you know who the philosophers are, or what the term means here? In the first place, it comprehends almost every body; and in the next, means *men, who avowing war against popery, aim, many of them, at a subversion of all religion, and still many more, at the destruction of regal power.* How do you know this? you will say; you, who have been but six weeks in France, three of which you have been confined to your chamber. True; but in the first period I went every where, and heard nothing else; in the latter, I have been extremely visited, and have had long and explicit conversations with many who think as I tell you; and with a few of the other side, who are no less persuaded that there are such intentions. In particular, I had two officers with me the other night, neither of them young, whom I had difficulty to keep from a serious quarrel; and who, in the heat of the dispute, informed me of much more than I could have learnt with great pains." — See Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 122.

■ *Cœuvres du Roi de Prusse*, vol. iv. p. 181.

the Corsicans came to a resolution never to make any agreement with the republic, until their liberties and independency were acknowledged and secured, and published a memorial to the nations of Europe, calling on them, by the rights of humanity, to interpose and give peace to a nation which had made such conspicuous exertions in the cause of freedom. This application procured them no assistance; and even the British ministry, at the peace, issued a proclamation forbidding the King's subjects from affording assistance to the Corsican rebels. This harsh appellation hurt the feelings of Paoli, who said, "He did not expect that from Great Britain;" but the ministry acted wisely in not interfering between another nation and its dependency.

The Corsican general, without foreign aid, had nearly completed the emancipation of his country, when France, in 1764, concluded a treaty with Genoa, and sent six battalions of troops to garrison the fortified towns for four years, who being enjoined to act only on the defensive, were not opposed, but kindly received by the islanders. The Comte de Marboëuf, their commander, behaved with mildness and moderation; he carefully preserved the towns entrusted to his charge, but committed no injuries against the inhabitants: and Paoli, restrained from making active war, employed this interval in cultivating the arts of peace, and strengthening himself for future contests.^d

Unfortunately, the Corsicans were not unanimous among themselves. A party headed by two brothers named Abbattucci was in considerable force on one side of the island, and carried on open war against Paoli^e. When the end of the four years approached, the French minister appeared desirous to terminate the differences between the Genoese, and the Corsicans. He drew up propositions, which

^d Boswell's Account of Corsica, chap. ii.

^e Life of Dumouriez, vol. i. chap. iii.

C H A P.

XIV.

1767.

were approved by Paoli, and calculated to preserve the liberty of the Corsicans, without derogating from the dignity of the senate of Genoa.

While this negotiation was yet pending, the Spanish Jesuits were, by the consent of the Genoese, landed in Corsica. The French minister, anxious for the destruction of the order, appeared offended, and withdrew the troops from the ports into which the Jesuits were admitted. Paoli, disposed to derive advantage from the retreat of the French, immediately possessed himself of the places which they had evacuated; but the minister requested him to desist from hostilities, and consider those places in a state of neutrality, as if garrisoned by the French till the expiration of the four years, when the troops should be withdrawn from the island; and promised, if a peace was not at that time concluded, the Corsicans should be at full liberty to assert their rights.

Notwithstanding these explicit avowals of Corsican independence, the French government purchased the island from the republic of Genoa, although the natives claimed, and had an undoubted right, to be considered as independent, and had been acknowledged so by the power which now became the purchaser.

This measure was expected to produce much opposition in Europe, but Choiseul made such arrangements as prevented hostilities. Great Britain and Sardinia were the principal powers who interested themselves in the subject; but representations to the cabinet of St. James's induced them to abstain from opposing the transfer, and Sardinia was too feeble singly to oppose France.^f

The Corsicans, when informed of the sale, held a general meeting, and swore to defend their liberties to the utmost extremity; but this generous resolution, though maintained with spirit, did not avail.

^f See *Life of Dumouriez*, vol. i. p. 109.

They were defeated in many encounters, and after a gallant resistance, the whole island was over-run: Paoli, obliged to consult his safety by flight, retreated to Pisa, and afterwards to London, where his necessities were relieved by a pension.^g

CHAP.
XIV.

1767.

22d Sept.
1769.

War between Russia and the Porte.

1767.

Meanwhile war raged between Russia and the Porte, but the events in no degree affected, for the present, the interests of England. Russia began to display unlimited power in Poland, and those measures were arranged between the King of Prussia and the Empress, which led to the subsequent dismemberment of the country.^h

Affairs of America.

If these transactions appeared of small importance to the welfare of Great Britain, the state of her colonies became daily more and more embarrassing and alarming. When the ministry brought into parliament the act for laying duties on certain articles of commerce exported to America, they could not foresee objections to the right. The authority of the British parliament to impose what they deemed external taxes, was generally admittedⁱ, and if the inflamed state of the public mind in America, and the triumphant confidence resulting from the successful opposition to the stamp act, rendered it impolitic, the legality was unquestioned. But the Americans were not disposed to concede the minutest objection in favour of the mother country. The inclination to controversy imbibed during the discussion of the former question, and the systems then first promulgated, raised an insuperable barrier to the reception of any new measure tending to benefit Great Britain at the expence of the colonists.

^g Life of Dumouriez, vol. i. chap. v. and vi. Description of Corsica, &c. &c. by Frederick, son of the late Theodore, King of Corsica.

^h Œuvres du Roi de Prusse, vol. iv. p. 167, et seq.

ⁱ Even Dr. Franklin admitted this principle in its fullest latitude, and seemed to make the establishment of a distinction between the right of internal and external taxation, the strongest point on which the Americans founded their claim of relief from the stamp act. See his examination, Debreit's Debates, vol. iv. p. 328, 330, 334.

C H A P.

XIV.

1767.

Exertions
against the
new taxes.In Massa-
chuset's
Bay.Disputes be-
tween the
legislature
and the go-
vernor.23th Oct.
Non-im-
portation
agreements.

On the first intelligence of the taxes imposed by parliament, the American presses teemed with invective against the system, and the ministry by whom it was recommended. It was represented as originating in a pernicious and illegal resolution to reduce the Americans to an abject state of slavery and distress. These writings, though not abounding in eloquence and wit, were not so despicable as to justify total negligence: they daily filled the pages of American newspapers, while no writer was sufficiently hardy, or sufficiently interested to espouse the contrary opinion.

The province of Massachuset's Bay took the lead in opposing the measures of government. The meeting of the first congress had done irreparable injury to the British dominion, by enabling the various provinces of America to unite in opinion and conduct, by making the grievances of any single province a common cause, and thus obliging the loyal or the timid to relinquish the dictates of their own judgment or disposition, in favour of the rebellious and turbulent.

The untameable republicans of Massachuset's Bay soon engaged in such a system as impelled the other colonies to join them in open resistance to the mother country. Sir Francis Bernard, their governor, was held in great dislike, for his vigorous efforts to support the orders of government; he was represented as exceeding the authorities with which he was invested, and treating the public, and the council and assembly, with insupportable haughtiness, and he irreparably offended the violent party, by refusing to confirm the election of some persons whom he deemed unfit to be members of the council. His refusal was justified by the colonial charter, but the exercise of this privilege was peculiarly offensive.

When intelligence of the new tax laws was received, the people assembled at the town-hall in Boston, and entered into associations to encourage

the manufactures of America, and desist from the use and importation of British luxuries.

Governor Bernard found it necessary to convene the legislature earlier than he intended, but having received information from the speaker of the assembly, that remonstrances against the late acts were in contemplation, was prepared to expect a session replete with turbulence and disaffection. The first eighteen days were consumed in drawing up these remonstrances ; and a long letter was written to Mr. de Berdt, the colonial agent in England, instructing him to controvert the obnoxious acts on every ground of right and policy. The legislature also prepared a petition to the King, in which they claimed, as rights of British subjects, an exemption from taxation, unless they were represented in parliament, which at the same time they stated to be impossible. They also wrote to Lord Shelburne, the Marquis of Rockingham, General Conway, Lords Camden and Chatham, and to the lords of the Treasury ; all these letters, although varied, according to the circumstances and situation of the parties to whom they were addressed, spoke but one sentiment, dissatisfaction at the late measures, and a determined spirit of resistance.

Another proceeding of the assembly was still more important in its consequences. A circular letter was addressed to the speakers of the houses of assembly throughout the continent, complaining of all the late acts, inciting them to a strenuous opposition, and inviting them to communicate such advice as they should think judicious. This letter, which was conceived in moderate and impressive terms, produced great effect ; all jealousy between the different legislatures immediately subsided ; the candour evinced by an independent body, in requesting the sanction and advice of their fellows, quieted suspicion, and made many of the assemblies firm adherents to their cause. Several of the speakers ^k, by direction of the

C H A P.
XIV.

1767.
30th Dec.
Proceedings
of the general
court.

12th Jan.
1768.

20th.

11th Feb.
Their circular
letter.

^k Virginia, New Jersey, Connecticut, Georgia, and Maryland.

C H A P.

XIV.

1768.

Dispute re-
specting
Lord Shel-
burne's
letter.

bodies over which they presided, united in opinion with the assembly of Massachusetts Bay; and their sentiments gained ground in all parts of the continent.

While these matters were under discussion, a topic of dispute occurred between the assembly and the governor. In consequence of Sir Francis Bernard's refusal to confirm the nomination of members of the council, Lord Shelburne, Secretary of State, expressed high approbation of his conduct, with many reproaches against the spirit exhibited by the legislature. This letter the governor communicated to the assembly, but only permitted it to be read by the clerk, and would not suffer a copy to be entered on the journals. The house, dissatisfied with this proceeding, and anxious to obtain documents which might inflame the popular resentment against Sir Francis, required a copy, and also his own letters to which it referred. The governor, in a laconic answer declined compliance; but the assembly still persevering, strenuously reiterated their demand; and this message, which referred to and cited, from the memory of the writers, some passages of the secretary of state's letter, was printed by permission of the assembly in one of the newspapers. It now became unnecessary for the governor any longer to refuse a communication of the original, it was therefore transmitted with a short indignant message, and entered on the journals. The assembly wrote to Lord Shelburne, animadverting on it with great asperity, and treated the conduct of Sir Francis Bernard, which had been approved by the secretary of state, as an abuse, or at least an unwarrantable exercise of his legitimate authority.

29th Feb.
Libel on the
governor.

The efforts used to render the governor's situation insupportable, were not confined to the house of assembly. A virulent incendiary letter was published in the Boston Gazette, upbraiding him in the coarsest terms with his conduct towards the colony, and par-

13th Feb.

16th.

18th.

23d.

ticularly with his supposed letters to Lord Shelburne, by which the secretary of state had been influenced to censure the legislature. This flagrant and atrocious insult appeared to endanger the safety of government, and called for the immediate interposition of the legislative body. Sir Francis communicated the libel, and required advice. The council returned a loyal and dutiful address, reprobating the publication and its author, and declaring their readiness to concur in any measures which the majesty of the King, and the dignity of his government, the honour of the council, and the true interest of the province, should require. The assembly displayed a contrary disposition: they alleged that as no particular person, public or private, was *named* in the publication, it did not affect the majesty of the King, the dignity of the government, the honour of the general court, or the true interests of the province; and thought themselves fully justified in taking no further notice of it.¹

C H A P.
XIV.
1768.

3d March.

The next day, the governor in a speech of considerable length, reprobated their conduct on many points from the beginning of the session, particularly their animadversions on Lord Shelburne's letter, and permitting their proceedings to be published in newspapers; he vindicated his own character and conduct, and having expressed a determination to persevere in the same course, prorogued the court till the thirteenth of April.

4th March.
Prorogation
of the as-
sembly.

The conduct of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay, in sending a circular letter to the other provinces, was highly resented by the ministry. They justly considered it as evidently tending to create unwarrantable combinations, to excite an unjustifiable opposition to the constitutional authority of parliament, and to revive those unhappy divisions and distrac-

Instructions
from the Se-
cretary of
State to the
governor.

¹ The public agreed in this opinion, for when the libel was afterward presented to the grand jury, they refused to find the bill. The libeller, encouraged by impunity, renewed his attack with increased acrimony.

C H A P.

XIV.

1768.

22d April.

tions which had operated so prejudicially to the true interests of Great Britain, and the colonies. Lord Hillsborough, Secretary of State for America, wrote to the governor, expressing these sentiments, and requiring that the resolutions which gave rise to the obnoxious letter should be rescinded. To afford the assembly an opportunity of complying without injury to their feelings, the secretary of state considered the measure as obtained by surprize, and contrary to the real sense of the majority; but in conclusion, Sir Francis Bernard was directed, if they declined rescinding the resolutions, to dissolve the assembly, and send an account of their proceedings to be laid before parliament.

21st June.
Proceedings
on the sub-
ject.
23d.
24th.

Sir Francis transmitted a copy of this letter to the assembly, omitting the latter part, to obviate the imputation of using threats. The members, however, demanded a more complete communication, and the governor, in complying with their request, informed them of his determination, if they disobeyed the King's commands, to fulfil his instructions. The assembly not returning an answer to this declaration, he sent a message desiring they would come to some resolution on His Majesty's requisition, and intimated that he should consider a much longer delay as amounting to a negative. The assembly attempted to evade this demand, by requesting an adjournment to consult with their constituents, but the governor not acceding to the proposal, they at length sent a long message, in which they defended their former resolutions, and refused to recede or apologize. A letter of great length, and to the same purport, was written to Lord Hillsborough; and to prove that the former measure was not obtained by surprize, nor contrary to the sense of the house, the numbers were taken on the division by which the question for rescinding the resolutions was rejected, and were found to be ninety-two to seventeen. In pursuance of

28th June.

29th.

30th.
Inflexibility.

1st July.
And dissolu-
tion of the
assembly.

his instructions, the governor dissolved the assembly.^m

CHAP.
XIV.

1768.

Temper of
the people.

This ferment in the legislature greatly affected the tranquillity of the people. Those who were before disposed to exhibit a licentious disposition, now secure of impunity and support, laid no restraint on their conduct. The act for establishing a board of customs was liable to no objection in argument, but as it subjected the smuggling trade to insurmountable difficulties, was felt and resented with great acrimony. The board passed several wise and effectual regulations for accomplishing the ends of their institution, and were therefore regarded with peculiar malignity; and while the assembly was yet sitting, this spirit was displayed in a manner which threatened to involve the whole province in rebellion. A sloop belonging to John Hancock, one of the principal merchants, arrived in Boston harbour laden with wine, and a tide-waiter was put on board to prevent the cargo from being landed until entered at the custom-house, and a permit obtained. The master of the vessel, having in vain tampered with the officer, forcibly locked him up in the cabin, landed the wine, and took in oil from the shore. Information of this violence being given at the custom-house, the collector seized the sloop, and placed it under protection of the Romney ship of war, then in the harbour. The mob on shore assailed the collector and comptroller of the customs, beat and pelted them with stones; threatened the commissioners, whom they obliged to seek refuge on board the Romney; and, seizing the collector's boat, carried it in triumph, and burned it before Mr. Hancock's door. The commissioners applied for

9th June.
Seizure of
Hancock's
sloop.

^m The account of these proceedings is taken from Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 54 to 62; Andrews's History of the War, vol. i. 80, et seq.; Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i.; The True Sentiments of America, in a Collection of Letters, &c. including papers relating to a supposed libel on the governor of Massachusetts Bay; Letters and Memorials to Lord Hillsborough from Governor Bernard and General Gage, two collections, 1769; The American Gazette, 1768; and the periodical publications.

C H A P.

XIV.

1768.

14th June.
Town-
meeting.Troops or-
dered.12th Sept.
Second
town-meet-
ing.

13th.

A conven-
tion resolved
on.

protection to the governor, who referred them to the legislature, but that body would give neither advice nor assistance, and the commissioners, being still alarmed by threats, were obliged to secure themselves in a fortress called Castle William, situate on an island, at the mouth of the harbour.

A town-meeting was next called, but the inhabitants of Boston participating in Mr. Hancock's interest, presented a remonstrance to the governor against the seizure of the sloop, and requested him to order the Romney to quit the harbour. The legislature beheld the proceedings with indifference, and took no measures for assisting the governor, or protecting the officers.

In consequence of these transactions, and of the representations made not only by the governor, but the commissioners of the customs, to the ministry, troops were ordered to Boston in aid of the civil power. A rumour of these orders having reached the inhabitants, they were filled with consternation and alarm : a town-meeting was held, and a petition presented to the governor, requesting him to call an assembly ; he answered ; " It was not in his power, " as he had dissolved the late assembly by the King's " command, to convene a new one without instruc- " tions ; and the affair was under examination." This answer increased the resentment of the people, and afforded ample scope to the exertions of the factious : it was proposed to summon a convention ; and to give efficacy to this new and bold resolution, they adjourned to the next day.

At this meeting the most inflammatory language was held, and four persons were nominated to represent Boston in the intended convention ; one of whom was Mr. Hancock the owner of the sloop. The select men of Boston were directed to write to the select men of other towns in the province, inviting them to a convention on the 22d of the same month. But the most flagrant measure was a re-

quisition to the inhabitants to provide themselves with arms, ammunition, and accoutrements, in case of sudden danger. This order was founded on an obsolete law of the province: the motive assigned was the rumour of an intended war with France. They terminated the meeting in a manner characteristic of the spirit of their ancestors, by requiring the ministers of the town to set apart an early day for fasting and prayer.

C H A P.
XIV.
1768.

In consequence of these resolutions, a circular letter was written to all the towns in the province, in language perfectly correspondent with the temper and disposition of those who regulated the Boston meeting. All the towns, ninety-six in number, appointed committees to attend the convention, except Hatfield, to which spot it appeared all the loyalty and moderation of the province were confined. The inhabitants unanimously refused to send representatives to the convention, and protested against it as illegal. In a long and sensible letter to the select men, they denied the facts alleged as motives for the intended proceeding, and declared their loyalty to the King, and fidelity to their country; but expressed at the same time, their firm resolution to maintain and defend their rights in every prudent and reasonable way, as far as was consistent with their duty to God and the King.

Prudence of
the inhabit-
ants of Hat-
field.

The convention on their meeting, sent a petition to the governor, disclaiming every intention of performing authoritative or governmental acts: they were chosen, they said, by the different towns and districts, and met in that dark and distressing time to consult and advise measures for promoting the peace and good order of His Majesty's subjects in that province. They repeated their complaints of grievances, and prayed that he would relieve them by calling a general assembly. When the three members, appointed to convey this petition, waited on Sir Francis Bernard, he declined receiving any

22d Sept.
Proceedings
of the con-
vention.

C H A P. message from the assembly, called a committee of
 XIV. convention, as that would be admitting its legality :
 1768. he would not even sign the paper on which he wrote
 this refusal ; but it was authenticated by those who
 23d Sept. received it from his hand. The next day a letter
 from the governor was read in the convention, in
 which, proceeding on a supposition that they might
 have assembled by the advice of some person igno-
 rant of the criminality of his act, he admonished
 them to separate without transacting business, that
 they might not incur the penalties due to their dis-
 obedience. The convention sent another message
 by five gentlemen, which the governor, having suf-
 ficiently explained himself, and pointed out their
 danger, refused to receive. The members of the
 convention, disconcerted by this firmness, merely
 appointed a committee of nine persons to consider
 and report the most effectual method, consistent with
 the express design of their convening, to promote
 the peace and good order of His Majesty's subjects.
 The committee having made their report, the con-
 vention drew up a petition to the King, and a let-
 ter inclosing it, to their agent in London, and then
 dissolved.

29th.
 Arrival of
 the troops.

The troops arrived in Boston on the day which
 concluded the sittings of the convention ; some
 difficulties respecting their lodging were obviated by
 hiring houses, to which the denomination of bar-
 racks was assigned, to prevent the establishment of
 a precedent for lodging soldiers in private habita-
 tions. The presence of the military, for a time, re-
 strained the inhabitants within the bounds of order ;
 the commissioners of the customs resumed their func-
 tions, and business followed its accustomed course.

Tranquillity
 of New
 York.

New York, effectually intimidated by the suspen-
 sion of their legislature, submitted to the terms im-
 posed by the mutiny act, and the assembly was again
 allowed to sit. Tranquillity was restored, and con-
 fidence would, probably, have followed, but for the

associations formed throughout the continent in consequence of the circular letter written by the assembly of Massachusetts Bay. These associations kept alive the flame of discord, and prepared for further exertions detrimental to the welfare of Great Britain.^a

C H A P.
XIV.
1768.

In 1767, a material alteration was effected in the constitution of Ireland, by the octennial act.

Affairs of
Ireland.

During the viceroyalty of the Earl of Northumberland^o, the Lord primate and Lord Shannon died^p. Before this event, Lord Shannon's heir and successor had married the daughter of Mr. Ponsonby, Speaker of the House of Commons. Fortified by this connexion, they imagined themselves sufficiently powerful to surmount every other party, and to awe the government. Their efforts, during the administration of Lord Halifax, were productive of little effect, as the firmness and address of the Lord Lieutenant were superior to all machinations.

19th and
28th Dec.
1764.

In 1764, new attempts were made to give to the House of Commons the right of originating money bills. Mr. Pery made a motion for expunging from the journals the note to the lord deputy, dated the twenty-ninth of November 1614, by which the full operation of Poyning's Law was recognized; and succeeded in obtaining a vote to that effect. The speaker, who had permitted this resolution to pass, being convinced, after a conference at the castle, of its impropriety, procured by his exertions the annulling of the whole proceeding; and the entry was declared an error of the clerk.

During the administration of Lord Weymouth and the Earl of Hertford^q, no material transactions took place; the patriots had so often repeated

^a Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 63 to 68. Andrews's History of the American War, p. 81 to 91.

^o See chap. viii.

^p In December 1768.

^q The Earl of Bristol was appointed Lord Lieutenant in 1766, but did not go to Ireland.

C H A P

XIV.

1766.

Lord lieutenant obliged to reside.

Efforts to alter the constitution of parliament.

their complaints on the enormity of the pension list, that they no longer excited curiosity, or obtained attention. Resolutions were entered on the journals stating facts respecting pensions; but no measures were adopted to show that they made any strong impression even on the movers.

The increasing powers of the parliamentary undertakers, at length, induced government to alter the system with respect to Ireland. It was resolved no longer to abandon that kingdom to the government of the lords justices, but to make residence the duty of the lord lieutenant; a determination which gave great satisfaction to the people, and proportionate alarm to those whose unpopular authority it was intended to abridge.

One of the principal measures by which the people expected their emancipation from the authority of the undertakers, was an alteration in the constitution of parliament. The parliament of Ireland was, at this time, dissolved only on the death of the King, or by the exercise of his prerogative. A change which should make the constitution more nearly to resemble that of Great Britain, had occasioned many public meetings, and strenuous recommendations to the legislature. The undertakers, though fully sensible of the diminution of their importance which must ensue, durst not attempt an open opposition, but relied on the effects of intrigue and management to prevent, while they appeared to favour, the success of the measure.

During the present reign, continual efforts were made to obtain a septennial law: in 1761, the House of Commons agreed to the heads of a bill for limiting the duration of parliaments, which was transmitted to England, but not approved. Even at that time great jealousy was excited, and the people were led to believe that their representatives sent the bill to England in the hope of its being

altered, which would afford a pretence for rejecting it, without offending their constituents. To acquit themselves of this imputation, the Irish House of Commons entered a resolution on their journals, expressly declaring the report to be void of foundation.

C H A P.
XIV.
27th April.
1762.

In November 1765, the sheriff and commons of Dublin drew up a petition for a change in the system of representation; the lord mayor and aldermen refusing to concur in the measure, the sheriff and commons passed a resolution expressing disapprobation, and voted instructions to their representatives to use their utmost endeavours for limiting the duration of parliaments.

Nov. 1765.

In February 1766 a bill for that purpose again passed in Ireland, but was rejected by the British cabinet. The news of this event exasperated the people of Dublin, and the sheriff, and upward of six hundred merchants and traders presented an address to their representatives, in which, after complaining, in acrimonious terms, of the rejection of the bill, they directed their members never to assent to any money bill of longer duration than six months, till a law should pass for a septennial limitation of parliament.

Feb. 1766.

May 1766.

When Lord Chatham's administration was formed, Lord Camden declared himself the advocate of a change in the representation of Ireland, but instead of a septennial, an octennial bill was recommended. Charles Townshend, Chancellor of the Exchequer, entered into the same views, and therefore obtained the lord lieutenancy of Ireland for his brother.

July 1766.

Lord Townshend accepted the appointment, fully approving the new system, and determined to maintain the royal authority against all opposition. He was received with great demonstrations of joy and respect by the magistracy of Dublin, and in three days after his arrival, the lord mayor, sheriff and commons, came to a resolution, that to obtain a law

11th Oct.
1767.

14th.

C H A P.

XIV.


for limiting the duration of parliament, under proper qualifications, would be of the highest advantage to the kingdom in general, and to the city of Dublin in particular, and that it would be advisable for the city to adopt all constitutional measures for procuring such a law.

A bill to that effect speedily passed the Irish parliament ; and being sent to England, obtained the sanction of the crown. It was received by the people of Ireland, particularly the lower class of voters, with unbounded joy, and the lord lieutenant was highly popular from the share he had taken in facilitating so desirable a measure. ^r

^r Many of the above statements are derived from the periodical publications, the rest from private information.

CHAPTER THE FIFTEENTH.

1768—1769.

Retrospect of the transactions of the reign. — Conduct and disposition of the King. — His patronage of the fine arts. — Parliamentary censure on the magistrates of Oxford. — Wilkes's return to England. — He is elected Member for Middlesex. — Meeting of Parliament. — Proceedings against Wilkes. — He is committed to the King's Bench prison — rescued by the mob. — surrenders. — Daily riots. — The soldiers fire on the people. — Increasing violence of the populace. — Sentence of the Court of King's Bench on Wilkes. — Prosecution of Mr. Gillam, the magistrate, by whose authority the military acted. — Resignation of Lord Chatham. — Serjeant Glynn elected for Middlesex. — Meeting of Parliament. — Wilkes's petition. — Various motions. — He is brought before the House of Commons. — His complaints declared frivolous. — His letter to Lord Weymouth — who complains of a breach of privilege. — Wilkes expelled. — His character. — His cause espoused by the freeholders of Middlesex. — He is re-elected — declared incapable of sitting. — Strenuously supported by the freeholders. — Meeting of merchants on the opposite side. — They are insulted. Their progress to St. James's. — Wilkes again elected. — The election declared void. — Colonel Luttrell opposes him. — Wilkes returned. — The return altered. — Petitions of the freeholders. — Proceedings in parliament relative to America. — Debates on the conduct of the legislature of Massachusetts Bay. — Debate on reviving an obsolete statute of Henry VIII. — Debate on the right of taxing. — Respecting Corsica. — Nullum Tempus act. — Arrears of the civil list discharged. — Agreement with the East India Company. — Prorogation.

AT the dissolution of the first parliament called by George III. the aspect of affairs presented no consolatory views to his mind. The King, from the beginning of his reign, had manifestly sought the advantage and honour of his people; yet such were the effects of a constant and acrimonious oppo-

CHAP.
XV.

Retrospect
of the trans-
actions of the
reign.

C H A P

XV.

1768.

sition, that not only the prudence of his measures, but the purity of his intentions was doubted. At his accession, he found a large portion of his subjects, conspicuous both for property and talent, excluded from all share in the government, and, by an affected stigma, rendered incapable of enjoying confidence, or rendering service to the crown. He relieved them from this proscription, and sought, by abolishing party and national distinctions, to reign king and protector of all his people. This measure, so wise and just in itself, was productive of endless feuds and jealousies. Every introduction of a new servant or family occasioned dissatisfaction and disgust: the disappointed formed new parties, avowed new principles, and sought by every device to distress and impede the operations of government. Thus so many successive ministries, who assumed the direction of public affairs, were all feeble and inefficient, while no single opposition was in itself strong or respectable. Every leader of a party commanded his share of influence, which joined to that resulting from ministerial situation, was sufficient to procure a majority. But the parliament itself, delivered to so many opposite leaders, making laws in one session, repealing them in the next, affirming a principle at one period, and retracting it at another, lost much of the respect and confidence which ought to flow from the people to their representatives.

The King's benevolence was conspicuous in every act which he performed or sanctioned. He found the country at war: it was the first wish of his heart to restore the blessings of peace. In pursuit of this object he made no sacrifice of the national honour, but raised the glories of the country by a campaign of matchless vigour and success. From this circumstance resulted much of the obloquy thrown on the peace: the prosperous progress of the British arms inspired exaggerated hopes, and many who affected to deplore the miseries of war, decried the peace

because it was not founded on principles which would have furnished an unanswerable motive for future aggression.

CHAP.
XV.

Against the private life of the King calumny itself could not discover an objection. Vice of every kind was not only unpractised, but discountenanced at court; and it was not possible to survey without an accumulated sense of respect and admiration, the first personage in the realm, the most conspicuous in the performance of every social law, and the most happy in the interesting centre of a domestic circle.^a

1768.
Private
character
of the
King.

The King was a patron and liberal encourager of the polite arts, and anxious to give them a permanent establishment in Great Britain. At an early period of the reign, Lord Bute asserted, from his own knowledge, that rewards would never be wanting, provided proper subjects occurred worthy of the royal protection^b; and the institution of the Royal Academy displayed at once the King's judgment, spirit, and patriotism.^c

His pa-
tronage of
the arts.

Notwithstanding, however, his blameless life, and constant exertions to deserve the affection of his subjects, the King was not happy. The unceasing efforts of opposition in every part of his dominions, and the success which attended those insidious and baleful endeavours, deprived him of a great portion of tranquillity. His firmness, fortunately, prevented him from relinquishing a mode of conduct which his judgment led him to adopt; but although he was enabled to break the established phalanx, which,

Uneasiness
in conse-
quence of
opposition.

* It may be proper here to mention the state of the royal family at this period. Beside the Prince of Wales, whose birth is already mentioned, the King was parent of Frederick Bishop of Osnaburg, since Duke of York, born 16th August 1763; William Henry, now Duke of Clarence, born August 21st, 1765; Charlotte Augusta Matilda, now Queen Dowager of Wirtemberg, born 29th September 1766; Prince Edward, now Duke of Kent, born 2d November 1767; and the Princess Augusta Sophia, born 8th November 1768.

^b Letter from Lord Bute to Lord Melcombe, 28th May 1761. In this letter was enclosed a sum of 200l. for a worthy literary character in distress.

^c See Appendix.

C H A P.
XV.

1768.
Deaths and
separations
in the royal
family.
17th Sept.
1767.
13th May,
1768.

Efforts
previous to
the general
election.

9th Feb.
1768.

Wilkes
returns to
England.

while it supported, obscured the throne, the struggle was attended with many painful circumstances.

Even in his own family, those feelings which proved the source of his enjoyments, gave also a poignancy to his grief. The death of his brother the Duke of York, a brave and meritorious youth, and of his sister the Princess Louisa Anne, occasioned great affliction; and although the marriage of the Princess Carolina Matilda to the King of Denmark, while it strengthened the Protestant interest, promised to increase the King's happiness, yet the splendid festivals which pervaded the capital could not assuage the pain of separation from such a beloved relative.

As it was certain that parliament would be dissolved at the end of the session, great efforts were made to obtain influence at the approaching general election. No art of corruption was left untried: advertisements appeared in the public prints, offering premiums for seats in the legislature; and the magistrates of the city of Oxford even demanded from their representatives, Sir Thomas Stapleton and the Honourable Mr. Lee, a sum of money as the price of their re-election. This demand being made during the session, the members very properly preferred their complaint to the house. The magistrates were taken into custody: but as, by their petition, it appeared they were not actuated by selfish motives, their only view being to obtain money for the reimbursement of some expences sustained by the corporation, they received only a reprimand from the Speaker on their knees, and were discharged.^d

All England was agitated by the tumults incident to a general election, but particularly London and Middlesex, on account of the re-appearance of John Wilkes: he quitted England under circumstances so disgraceful, that his offer to represent the metropolis,

^d Debrett's Debates, vol. iv. p. 511.

or the county which includes the metropolis, was an incalculable effort of impudence, while the support he received seems to have flowed from an unprecedented source of popular delusion.

C H A P.

XV.

1768.

Retrospect
of his con-
duct.

When Mr. Wilkes found it necessary to leave his native country he repaired to France; on his arrival, he asserted that he was deputed ambassador to Constantinople, but he soon relinquished that pretence, and professed an inclination to reconcile himself with the ministry, and return to England^e. The appointment of the Rockingham administration flattering him with hopes of success, he repaired to London in May 1766, and opened a negotiation with the friends of the Marquis; but as he could not obtain protection from them, nor place his outlawry in a train of reversal till November, he again went to France. In the course of that summer, Lord Chat-ham's administration was formed, and Mr. Wilkes conceiving new hopes, solicited, in earnest and abject terms, the Duke of Grafton's interference with the King^f. This application being rejected, Mr. Wilkes, neglected and forgotten, remained an exile, till the approaching dissolution of parliament drew him to England.

He is can-
didate for
London.

In his retirement he reflected with anger on his repeated mortifications, and his spirit was inflamed to that degree of virulence which made him brave every danger, and defy every appearance of decency, in declaring himself a candidate to represent the city of London. In his address to the livery, he claimed credit for his attachment to liberty, and presented his contests with government on the two questions respecting general warrants, and the seizure of papers, as titles to protection and encouragement. As the out-lawry was still in full force, to prevent his being apprehended he wrote to the solicitor and deputy soli-

10th Mar.

22d.

^e Lord Orford's Works, vol. v. p. 121.

^f See the letter dated 1st November 1766, A. R. vol. ix. p. 182, and a subsequent letter to the Duke of Grafton, dated 12th Dec. 1766, published by Almon.

C H A P.

XV.

1768.

But reject-
ed.

citor of the treasury, pledging his honour as a gentleman, that he would personally appear in the court of King's Bench on the first day of the ensuing term.^g

28th Mar.
Is returned
for Middle
sex.

Mr. Wilkes was not chosen for London; but the populace, sympathizing in his disappointment, and anxious to show their zeal in his cause, took the horses from his carriage, and drew it through the city. He immediately presented himself a candidate for the county of Middlesex, and was returned by a large majority^h. His friends, the populace, on this occasion testified not only their joy, but their resentment, by breaking the windows of Lord Bute's house, and of the mansion house; the air resounded with the cry of 'Wilkes and Liberty,' and those who refused to join in it were beaten and insulted.

10th May.
Meeting of
parliament.

The new parliament met according to the return of the writs of summons, and Sir John Cust was again chosen speaker. The only business transacted was a continuation of the statutes respecting grain; and a motion that the proper crown officer might report to the house why the laws were not immediately put in force against John Wilkes, an outlaw, when he returned to England in February.

Proceedings
against
Wilkes.
12th April.

Mr. Wilkes was at this period already in custody. He appeared in the court of King's Bench according to his promise, and in a long speech complained of all the transactions in his case, but left the discussion of points of law to his counsel. The attorney-general moved for his commitment; cause was shewn against it, and a writ of error prayed. The judges censured both motions, as Mr. Wilkes was not properly before the court, and refused to commit, or admit him to bail. A writ of *capias utlagatum* was at length issued, and as no precedent could be found of a person in

He is com-
mitted.

^g It was also said that he addressed a sensible and humble petition to the King, imploring pardon; but this fact is not sufficiently authenticated. See Gentleman's Magazine, 1768, p. 140.

^h The numbers were, Wilkes 1292, Cooke 527, Sir William B. Proctor, 807.

his circumstances being delivered to bail, he was ordered into custody. The populace, however, reversed the decree of the court; they stopped the coach in which he was proceeding, took off the horses, and dragged him through the city to a public house in Spitalfields, where they kept him till eleven at night, when he made his escape, and surrendered himself to the marshal of the King's Bench. The next day, a mob assembled near the prison, pulled up the rails which inclosed the foot-way, and made a bonfire. At night they compelled the inhabitants of the Borough to illuminate; but at midnight were dispersed by a detachment of the Guards.

From this period, a tumultuous meeting was daily held at the King's Bench prison, and many outrages were committed in various parts of the town. These proceedings alarmed government, and they were properly on their guard against the prevalence of the riotous disposition so forcibly displayed.

On the day of the opening of parliament, an immense multitude assembled in St. George's Fields, expecting that, by virtue of his privilege, their favourite would be liberated, and take his seat in the house. They demanded him at the prison with loud outcries, and soon grew extremely tumultuous. The justices attempting to read the riot act, were assailed with stones and bricks; great pains were taken to induce the people to disperse, but in vain: the drums beat to arms, and the military assembled in great numbers, but the rabble persevered in their riotous behaviour, and even assaulted them. Some soldiers pursued a man who had been forward in maltreating them to some distance, and shot him dead in an out-house belonging to his father. The youth's name was Allen, and it was alleged, that he was a mere spectator of the transactions of the day, and had, by mistake, been singled out instead of some other person. Meanwhile the riot increasing, and every effort to restore tranquillity proving ineffectual.

CHAP
XV.

1768.

27th.
Rescued
by the
mob.

Surrenders
himself.

Riots.

Daily re-
peated.

10th May
Dangerous
tumult
near the
King's
Bench pri-
son.

A youth
killed.

The soldiers
fire on the
people.

C H A P.
XV.

1768.

Rage
against the
military.

11th May.

Increasing
violence of
the people.

fectual, the soldiers received the word of command, and fired; five or six persons were killed, and fifteen wounded.

The mob was dispersed, but inexpressible rage prevailed against the soldiery. The regiment happened, unfortunately, to be principally composed of Scotchmen, which gave additional violence to the popular resentment. The coroner's inquest brought in a verdict of wilful murder against the soldier who shot Allen, and implicated another private, and Alexander Murray Esq. the commanding officer as accessaries. The principal, Donald Maclane, was conveyed to prison, and the populace were with difficulty restrained from tearing him to pieces. The King, with great propriety, protected and sanctioned the proceedings which gave a timely check to this daring spirit of licentiousness, and returned thanks to the commanding officer for his prudence and resolution.

Nothing could exceed the frenzy of indignation which prevailed in the public mind; riots of the most dangerous nature were daily excited. Harley, the Lord Mayor, being already obnoxious to Wilkes's party, for his conduct while sheriff, in burning the North Briton, the mansion house was frequently assailed by mobs, and at length it was found requisite that a guard should be constantly stationed there¹. A most audacious and treasonable paper was stuck on the walls of St. James's palace, and another of similar purport found on the back stairs. All was terror, confusion and alarm, and under the mask of patriotism, treason was actively employed; combinations were formed by workmen, coal-heavers, watermen and labourers in the metropolis, and in different parts of the country; the civil arm seemed too weak to restrain the general spirit of licentiousness, which, actuated by

¹ Three persons were tried at the Old Bailey in July, for being engaged in those violences, breaking the lamps and assaulting the Lord Mayor; two of them were found guilty, and sentenced to twelve months imprisonment in Newgate.

a designing leader, or stimulated by a real cause of complaint, would have produced a total dissolution of social order.

CHAP.
XV.

Mr. Wilke's case was argued in the court of King's Bench, and the outlawry against him reversed; but the verdict was affirmed, and he was sentenced to be imprisoned for two years, computed from the time of his arrest, to pay two fines of five hundred pounds, and find two sureties, in five hundred pounds each, for his good behaviour for seven years.

1768.
8th June.
Sentence of
the court of
King's
Bench on
Wilkes.

The spirit of revenge against all who appeared to support government in the late proceedings was carried to the greatest excess. Mr. Gillam, the magistrate who authorized the Guards to fire and disperse the mob, was indicted for murder. On his trial, the attorney and solicitor general appeared as his counsel, but no exertion on their part was necessary; the jury acquitted him on the evidence for the prosecution. A bill was also presented to the grand jury of the county of Surrey against Maclane the soldier, and two other persons implicated in the coroner's verdict: after a deliberation of thirteen hours, they found a true bill against Maclane only, who was tried and acquitted.

Prosecution
of Mr. Gil-
lam.
7th July.

11th.

8th Aug.
And of two
soldiers.

9th.

Lord Chatham saw with dissatisfaction many of the late ministerial proceedings; he was displeased with the conduct of his colleagues respecting America; indignant at the tranquillity with which they suffered the French to possess themselves of Corsica, and in many other respects discontented; he also felt great repugnance at seeing his name connected with men and measures so generally unpopular, and determined to resign. He would not even attend at court to announce his resolution, but sent the privy-seal by Lord Camden. This event was not unexpected. Lord Bristol was appointed in his stead; and as Lord Camden still continued chancellor, no material alterations took place.^k

Resignation
of Lord
Chatham.

15th Oct.

2d Nov.

^k Life of Lord Chatham, vol. ii. p. 84.

C H A P.

XV.

1768.
Serjeant
Glynn
elected for
Middlesex.
5th June.

8th Dec.

14th Jan.
1769.

8th Nov.
1768.
Meeting of
parliament.

Wilkes's
petition.
14th Nov.

Proceedings
thereon.

The tumultuous disposition of the electors of Middlesex* might probably have subsided had not a new contest renewed the fermentation. Mr. Cooke, Mr. Wilkes's colleague, died; Sir William Beauchamp Proctor, the unsuccessful candidate at the late election, again offered himself; and was opposed by Serjeant Glynn, who being the constant legal defender of Wilkes, was highly popular, and Sir William lost the election. During its progress, a man was killed in a riot, begun by some chairmen employed by Sir William's party; and as he was understood to be a candidate on the court interest, this event excited the greatest indignation: two chairmen were apprehended, tried at the Old Bailey, and found guilty. The populace, animated with the desire of vengeance, when the verdict was pronounced, testified their joy by shouting and clapping of hands; but their fury was not gratified in the expected victims; for, after being respited for a short time, they obtained a pardon.¹

In his speech to parliament, on the first day of the session, the King mentioned with satisfaction the pacific disposition of the continental powers, adverted to the rebellious spirit which prevailed in Massachusetts's Bay, and recommended harmony and union. The address was strenuously opposed, but carried.

Mr. Wilkes's affair early engaged the House of Commons: a petition was brought up by Sir Joseph Mawbey, in which all the proceedings against him since the year 1763 were briefly recited, and the justice of the house was claimed in redressing his grievances; sundry motions ensued; the proper officers were directed to lay before the house a copy of the proceedings in the court of King's Bench; and a day being appointed for taking these matters into consideration, it was ordered that due notice should be given to Mr. Wilkes, and to several other parties, who might appear as witnesses. Among them was

¹ They were afterwards prosecuted with unceasing resentment for other murders committed on the same day, but acquitted.

Mr. Webb, late secretary to the treasury, who being in the petition accused of highly improper conduct, requested an opportunity of vindicating himself, and was allowed to be heard either in person or by counsel.

Before the petition was discussed, a motion, made for the purpose of ascertaining whether a member convicted of publishing a libel was entitled to privilege, was debated with much acrimony, and at length decided in the negative. At the time appointed for considering his petition, Mr. Wilkes, being brought before the house in custody, objected that, by an act of parliament, he could not legally appear there without taking the oaths; but this objection was overruled. On a subsequent day, he took exception to the word blasphemous, used in describing the Essay on Woman; which, after a long debate was expunged. The evidence in support of the petition substantiated only the undenied fact, that Lord Mansfield had altered the record of his indictment the day before the trial. It was clearly demonstrated that the practice of altering records in the manner complained of was ancient, and supported by numberless precedents from the beginning of the law books to that period; and on a solemn argument of the same objection in Westminster Hall, the practice had been confirmed by all the judges. The petition accused Mr. Webb of bribing, with the public money, one Curry, Mr. Wilkes's domestic, to steal the Essay on Woman; but this charge was not proved. A vote of severe censure was moved, but afterwards modified into a declaration, that the aspersions in the petition were frivolous.

Another complaint against Mr. Wilkes was immediately presented. Lord Weymouth, the secretary of state, having in the preceding year, written to the magistrates of Surrey, recommending them no longer to permit tumults to assume so dangerous an aspect, but to make early application for a military force in aid of the civil power; the letter came into Mr. Wilkes's possession, and he published it, with an inflammatory

C H A P.
XV.

1768.
23d Jan.
1769.
Motion respecting privilege.

27th.
Wilkes brought before the House of Commons.

31st.

1st. Feb.
His complaints declared frivolous.

Wilkes's letter to Lord Weymouth;

C H A P. and insulting comment, denominating the affair in St. George's Fields a horrid massacre, and the consequence of a hellish project, deliberately planned. Lord Weymouth complained to the House of Lords of a breach of privilege; and the printer of the newspaper acknowledging that he received the letter from Mr. Wilkes, a conference of the Lords and Commons was held. Mr. Wilkes, at the bar of the lower house, triumphantly avowed the publication, and claimed the thanks of the country for having exposed, in a proper light, "that bloody scroll."

XV.
1769.

who complains of a breach of privilege.

3d.
Wilkes expelled.

Observations.

The house being thus in full possession of the necessary evidence, a motion for his expulsion^m was made, and after a strenuous debate, carried by a considerable majority.ⁿ

In all the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, from the moment of his return to England, the ministry displayed great want of judgment and prudence, but in this measure, their errors were peculiarly manifest. On his arrival, in the month of February, his outlawry was in full force; had they then issued against him the proper process, he would have been legally in custody during the period of the election, and thus prevented from influencing, personally at least, the public proceedings at that crisis. Such a measure could not apparently have created a division in the cabinet, since even Lord Chatham was attacked in the letter to the Duke of Grafton with no less virulence than the Duke himself. But if they were resolved not to add to the weight of Mr. Wilkes's misfortunes by enforcing his punishment, and content to incur the risque arising from his popular opposition to their measures, the most pru-

^m The motion was in these words: "That John Wilkes, Esq. ■ member of this House, who hath at the bar of this House, confessed himself to be the author and publisher of what this House has resolved to be an insolent, scandalous, and seditious libel, and who has been convicted in the court of King's Bench, of having printed and published ■ seditious libel, and three obscene and impious libels, and by the judgment of the said court has been sentenced to undergo twenty-two months imprisonment, and is now in execution under the same judgment, be expelled this house."

ⁿ 219 to 136.

dent proceeding would have been to advise the King to comply with, or even anticipate, Mr. Wilkes's petition by a free pardon. He could then no longer pretend that he was a martyr in the cause of liberty, nor would the excesses of the populace have been sanctioned by any plausible allegation of grievance. By taking Mr. Wilkes into custody after his election, and when his popularity was so firmly established, they placed the King in direct opposition to a great portion of his subjects, and exposed the nation to all the mischiefs and ferments arising from such a contest. In arguing the merits of his petition the ministry were guilty of a great error: it claimed no particular notice, made no specific demand, and might, with great propriety, have been left to lie on the table. In expelling him the house, their conduct was unjustifiable; it might be legal, but a ministry, in a free country, can never support themselves by an appeal to the letter of the law; they must also do what is expedient, and even gracious to the people. In this instance they manifested no less feebleness than rancour. As if afraid that they were not fully justified in expelling him in consequence of a complaint from the other house, the motion was loaded with extraneous facts; reciting an offence for which he was expelled by a former parliament, and others for which he was then suffering the sentence of the law; and even alleging that sentence and those sufferings against him as new crimes.

Through the medium of Mr. Wilkes some important popular questions were discussed, and it was fortunate for the country that such an individual was found. The points ascertained by his means are of the highest consequence both to liberty and government; and Mr. Wilkes was, in every respect, the most proper man to act the part assigned to him. Too enterprising to be despised, too frivolous to excite permanent apprehension, he was ever ready to engage in such acts as required the interference of the law,

C H A P.
XV.

1769.

and always sufficiently subtle to make his errors popular, and his vices venial. Too magnanimous to be actuated by terror, and too venal to resist proffered advantages, he was a fit champion for the people, till his views were answered, but so open to gratification as never to be permanently dangerous. His avowed vices precluded him from the esteem of the virtuous; and thus his popularity, however apparently extensive, could never give alarm to a strong and well-combined ministry. It would have been wise to let him take his seat without resistance, for as his oratorical talents were not above mediocrity, he would soon have sunk into disregard, and his writings, ceasing to claim attention as the effusions of an injured patriot, would have been rated at their just value, and fallen rapidly into obscurity.

14th Feb.
His cause
espoused
by the free-
holders of
Middlesex.

His interests were warmly and eagerly espoused: at a meeting of the freeholders at Mile-end, his re-election was recommended. Alderman Sawbridge enforced it by observing, that if once the ministry should be permitted to say whom the freeholders should not choose, the next step would be to tell them whom they should choose; he was accordingly re-elected almost without opposition.*

16th.
He is re-
elected.

The resolution thus displayed by the people to support their favourite might have taught the ministry the inutility of further resistance, and induced them to submit with a good grace; but, they now appeared to consider the credit and authority of government at stake, and to have resolved that the question should be prosecuted to all extremities. On the day succeeding Mr. Wilkes's return, Lord Strange moved, "That having been expelled, he was incapable of serving in that parliament." In support of this doctrine, it was alleged, that Robert Walpole having been expelled the house, and re-chosen for Lynn, the Commons declared his incapacity. The

17th.
Declared
incapable
of sitting in
parliament.

* Serjeant Whitaker was proposed as a candidate, but was supported only by five freeholders.

members in opposition made many distinctions between Walpole's case and Mr. Wilkes's. Walpole was, at the time of his re-election, actually in the Tower for the crimes which occasioned his expulsion, a rival candidate appeared, so that the terms of the precept could be complied with; and the matter was taken up in the house, not on the mere return of the writ, but on the petition of his opponent. Should the dangerous precedent, that a member once expelled is incapable of re-election to the same parliament, be established, it might be carried to an indefinite extent. "There is one *worst* man in the house;" Mr. Dowdswell humorously observed, "turn him out. Is there not now a *worst* man left?—Turn him out too. In short, when will you stop?—You have turned one out for impiety and obscenity;—when half a dozen members meet over a convivial bottle, is their discourse entirely free from obscenity, impiety, and abuse of government? Even in the cabinet, that pious, reforming society; were Mr. Wilkes there to be judged, and the innocent man to throw the first stone, they would slink out one by one, and leave the culprit uncondemned." In more serious argument it was stated, that a man might be expelled for a libel, but on trial in a court of law, be found innocent; what must be the consequence? Is that person never to be re-elected? or what amends could he receive for his expulsion? But, say the ministry, parliament will never expel a member but for a just cause. When a ministry is invested with the powers of judges, woe to us opposers.—The question was carried in the affirmative by a large majority.^o

In consequence of this measure the popularity of Mr. Wilkes increased, and he was considered the object of a vindictive persecution^p. Another meet-

Wilkes
strenuously
supported.

^o 225 against 89.

^p A subscription was opened for his benefit at the London Tavern, (20th February,) which supplied a sufficient fund to pay his fines, and to leave an ample residue for his future support.

C H A P.
XV.

1769.

22d Feb.
Meeting of
merchants.
8th Mar.

They are
insulted by
Wilkes's
party.

22d March
Their pro-
gress to St.
James's.

16th.
Wilkes
again
elected.

ing at Mile-end resolved again to support him, and the most enthusiastic sentiments were expressed in his favour.

All attempts to oppose the prevailing spirit were ineffectual. A meeting was called at the King's Arms tavern, in London, for the purpose of presenting a loyal address to the King; but the adherents of Wilkes were so numerous and formidable, that those who invited the meeting were obliged to leave the room to the other party, who by their speeches and resolutions totally perverted and turned to ridicule the original intent of the assembly. Those who convened it, however, prepared an address, which they left at a public office over the Royal Exchange for signatures. In their progress to present this paper at St. James's, they were assailed with violence and insult: a hearse preceded them, with paintings representing the death of Allen, and the murder at Brentford; the coaches were stopped, and those in them were beaten, pelted with mud, and many obliged either to desist from their intention, or proceed to St. James's by private ways. The hearse still preceding the few who remained, attempted to pass into the court yard, but was resisted by the guard; the mob persevered in their outrages, even within the walls of the palace; two were secured by the intrepidity of Lord Talbot, and fifteen by the military⁹. The whole spectacle must have been truly mortifying and distressing to the King, as it evinced the dangers to which his subjects were exposed in presuming to display sentiments of loyalty and affection.^r

A second election took place at Brentford, and Mr. Dingley, the principal promoter of the meeting

⁹ It is a remarkable fact, and shows how general was the extent of factious spirit at this period, that the grand jury of Middlesex refused to find bills of indictment against these men.

^r No express authorities are cited for these facts; they form the contents of all the diurnal registers in the periodical publications, to which reference may be made by the dates in the margin: particularly the Annual Register, and Gentleman's Magazine.

of merchants at the King's Arms tavern, appeared for the purpose of opposing Mr. Wilkes, but he was so ill-treated by the mob, that by the advice of his friends he retired before the nomination, and the popular candidate was declared duly elected for want of opposition, although Mr. Dingley, in a letter to the sheriffs, protested against the proceedings of the day. The House of Commons, on the motion of the chancellor of the exchequer, again declared the election null and void.

C H A P.
XV.
1769.

A new writ being issued, Colonel Luttrell, son of Lord Irnham, vacated his seat, and declared himself a candidate for Middlesex. This conduct was considered so rash and dangerous, that policies of assurance on his life were opened at Lloyd's Coffee-house^s. Mr. Wilkes's friends adopted their usual measure of calling a meeting at Mile-end, and entered into strenuous resolutions to support his cause. The House of Commons, apprehensive of riots, ordered the sheriffs to take the necessary measures for preserving the peace, by appointing an additional number of constables.

17th.
The election
declared
void.

Colonel
Luttrell
opposes
Wilkes.

20th Mar.

7th April.

The election was conducted with the utmost order, although a violent and outrageous mob occupied the roads to Brentford in every direction, and compelled all passengers to shout "Wilkes and Liberty," and to permit his badge, Number 45, to be chalked on their clothes, and carriages. The numbers on the poll producing a majority for Mr. Wilkes of eight hundred and forty-seven^t, the sheriff returned him duly elected. A motion, however, was made in the House, and after being debated with great vehemence, and no small ability, for two days, an alteration of the return was ordered by a majority of fifty-four^u. The freeholders of Middlesex presented a petition against this alteration, and were

13th April.
Election.

Wilkes re-
turned.

The return
altered.
14th and
15th.

29th.
Petition of
the free-
holders.
8th May.

^s History of the Boroughs, &c. vol. ii. p. 283.

^t Wilkes 1143, Luttrell 296.

^u 197 to 143.

C H A P.
XV.

1769.
Proceedings
in parlia-
ment rela-
tive to
America.
Dec. 1768.

heard by counsel, but the House confirmed its previous resolution by a still greater majority.^x

The recent transactions in America produced great debates, and strong measures. The business was forcibly adverted to in the King's speech, and afterward introduced to the house by a motion for an address, that all letters-patent, charters, and commissions, subsisting and in force relative to the American colonies, with copies of all orders and instructions given to any officers civil or military, in regard to their government, should be laid before Parliament. This motion was negatived, as was another, on the same day, for copies of all letters and affidavits received since the first of January 1766.

15th and
20th Jan.

Petitions.

After the recess, a committee of the whole house was formed, to whose inspection a large quantity of papers was submitted. A petition was tendered from Massachuset's Bay, and one from an individual named William Bollan: the former was received, under the express stipulation that it should be considered merely as the act of individuals, and not of a body, since the council had lost their collective character by dissolution: the other petition was rejected.

Resolutions.

The House then, in a committee, entered into a general discussion of the American transactions. The Lords had already voted certain resolutions, reciting historically the acts both of the people and legislature of Massachuset's Bay; and an address to the King, praying that he would direct the governor of that colony, to transmit the names of the persons most conspicuous in commencing illegal acts, since the 31st of December 1767, to one of the secretaries of state; and would, if the information received appeared to afford sufficient ground for such a proceeding, issue a special commission for trying the offenders in Great Britain, according to the provisions of the statute 35th Henry VIII.

An animated debate ensued on the question, whe-

ther the committee should concur in the resolutions and address. Both the right and expediency of taxing the colonies were ably argued; and the particular acts of the legislature of Massachusetts Bay, during the last year, were strongly arraigned and defended. Governor Pownall, who fully understood the affairs of America, and had been intrusted with the chief command in Massachusetts Bay, defended the proceedings of the colonists, and denied that the riots on the seizure of Hancock's sloop could have been prevented by the council and assembly^y. With respect to the calling of a convention, he admitted that if the select men of Boston had issued writs^z, it would have been an usurpation, if not treasonable: but that, by the laws of their country, confirmed by the crown, they were authorised to write letters desiring other towns to appoint committees to convene with their committee. He maintained, that although a convention of states would have been treasonable, a convention of committees was warranted by law, and their proceedings highly commendable. The conduct of Governor Bernard was, on the other hand, warmly defended; and after a long debate, which was carried on with great earnestness on both sides, the resolutions and address were agreed to.

C H A P.
XV.

1769.
Debates on
the conduct
of the legis-
lature of
Massachu-
set's Bay.

In another discussion, when the report of the committee was presented to the House, Governor Pownall again distinguished himself in opposition to the resolutions and address: he entered at great length into the constitutions and charters of the different provinces of America, and contended against the right of internal taxation: he dwelt with great force on the impolicy of urging the Americans to acts of resistance; depicted, with truth and precision, the spirit which ani-

sth Feb.

^y Admitting this to be true, which is not exactly so, they could have afforded protection to the custom-house officers, or have taken measures for effectually punishing the insurgents; neither of which was done.

^z This expression was found in the resolutions when first sent down from the lords, but the words, "writing letters," were substituted on a motion for an amendment.

C H A P.

XV.

1769.

mated the inhabitants of Massachuset's Bay, and warned the ministry against giving a spring to their fanaticism, and urging them to quit their native characters of husbandmen and merchants, to display their energy in acts of resistance, "that spirit," he said, "which led their ancestors to break off from every thing which is near and dear to the human heart; from every connexion which friendship, relation, blood could give; which led them to quit every comfort that a settled and civilized country (their own native country) could afford, and to encounter every difficulty and distress which a wild wilderness of savages could oppose to them, to struggle even for their existence; that spirit, equally strong, and equally inflamed, has but a slight and trifling sacrifice to make at this time; they have not to quit their native country, but to defend it: they have not to forsake their friends and relations, but to unite with and to stand by them in one common union. The only sacrifice they have to make is that of a few follies, and a few luxuries. Necessity is not the ground of their commerce with you, it is merely the affectation of your modes and customs; the love for home, as they call England, that makes them like every thing which comes from thence: but passion may be conquered by passion, they will abominate as sincerely as they now love you; and if they do, they have within themselves every thing requisite to the food, raiment, or dwelling of mankind, and have no need of your commerce." He then described the resources of the Americans, and the facility with which they could obtain all necessaries without applying to England. In conclusion, the governor gave this sane and prudent advice: "Do nothing which may bring into discussion questions of right, which must become mere articles of faith. Go into no innovations in practice, and suffer no encroachments on government. Extend not the power which you have of imposing taxes, to the laying internal taxes on the colonies. Continue

to exercise the power, which you have already exercised, of laying subsidies, imposts, and duties, but exercise this as you have hitherto done, with prudence and moderation, and directed by the spirit of commercial wisdom. This spirit and mode of government will cement again that union which is shattered, if not quite broken; restore that spirit of obedience, which the loss of authority on the one hand, and of affection on the other, has interrupted; and will re-establish the authority as well as force of civil government, which has almost lost its force by losing its authority. Exert the spirit of policy that you may not ruin the colonies and yourselves by exertions of force."

The resolutions and address were carried, but amendments being made, were sent back to the lords for their assent. This gave rise to a motion to re-commit the address; and the proposal to revive the obsolete statute of Henry VIII. came more particularly under discussion. The intention was reprobated with great ability by Captain Phipps^a, who proved that the statute was not as described, a tyrannical act; but, on the contrary, one of the least exceptionable acts of a tyrannical reign. It was made before the existence of the American colonies, and was intended to secure to the King's trans-marine subjects at Boulogne, and other places, that benefit of which, if revived, it would deprive the Americans, namely, the trial by jury. He proved that an American, brought to England for trial could have none of the advantages which the law intends to secure to every one; he could not, with effect, challenge jurors whose characters and connexions were unknown to him; he could not avail himself of the assistance of counsel, to whose abilities and fame he might be a stranger; and no process could issue to enforce an appearance of witnesses from the other side of the Atlantic. "But, should the culprit, with all these disadvantages, escape," said

Resolutions carried.

Debates on reviving an obsolete statute.

^a Afterward Lord Mulgrave.

C H A P. Captain Phipps, "and indeed I do not see how it can
 XV. happen otherwise, for the act of the thirty-fifth of
 1769. Henry VIII. is for treasons committed out of the realm,
 and the twenty-fifth of Edward III. makes levying
 war within the realm treason; so that whether America
 is in or out of the realm, it cannot be within the
 letter of both these acts; and I hope there is no
 latent, obsolete statute, teeming with constructive
 treason, to be brought forth against these men:—
 should they, I say, after all be acquitted, what repara-
 tion can be made to an ingenuous mind for so foul
 an imputation as disloyalty. What reparation can be
 made to men dragged from the endearments of do-
 mestic life, brought from the land of liberty, flow-
 ing with milk and honey, to drink at the bitter
 fountain of oppression? Will they return less pos-
 sessed of the confidence of their fellow-subjects, and
 less inclined to abuse it? Will they return less con-
 vinced of the inconveniences of a dependent state,
 or less solicitous to shake off the yoke, from this
 new outrage?"

Mr. Grey Cooper assured the House that no
 intention was entertained of putting the act in execu-
 tion, but the address was moved merely to show
 the Americans what government could do on an
 emergency. The motion for a recommitment was
 lost by a great majority.^b

14th Mar.
 Debate on
 the right of
 taxing.

The House was again engaged on American affairs,
 in consequence of a representation from New York,
 denying the right of parliament to tax them. Lord
 North opposed the reception of this paper; which
 induced Colonel Barré to observe, that he had pre-
 dicted on passing the stamp act, what would happen,
 and feared he could now prophesy further troubles;
 if the people were made desperate, finding no remedy
 from parliament, the whole continent would rise in
 arms, and perhaps those provinces be lost to England
 for ever. Some remarks were made on the unpro-

^b 161 to 65.

ductiveness of American taxes, and the enormous expence attending the collection. Mr. Grenville said, there was no medium; we must either resolve strictly to execute the revenue laws in America, or, with a good grace abandon our right, and repeal the declaratory and revenue laws. Mr. Burke answered, there might be and was a proper medium; the right of taxing was undoubted, but a minister ought to be well convinced of the expediency before he attempted to enforce it. The representation was not received. At a late period of the session, Governor Pownall moved to repeal the revenue acts affecting North America, and supported his motion by a long and able speech; but as the discussion of such an important question would protract the rising of the house to a very advanced period, it was postponed till the next session.

C H A P.
XV.
1769.

May.

The transfer of Corsica to France was an early topic of debate, but produced no interesting remark, or useful information. A motion for the correspondence between the British and French ministry, and for instructions and other papers, introduced a discussion on the value of the acquisition. The opposition maintained that, every accession of power to France was dangerous to this country; and as great attention had been paid for so many years to the maintenance of a proper equilibrium among the powers of Europe, the invasion of that island ought to have been considered as a violent breach of treaty, and subversive of that equilibrium. It was replied, that Corsica was a place of no importance, destitute of a good harbour, and an acquisition that would prove rather an evil than a benefit to France: but at all events, loaded as we already were with debt; folly and madness alone could impel us to engage in war for so small an object. The motion was rejected.

17th Nov.
1768.
Debate respecting
Corsica.

The Nullum Tempus bill of last session was passed; and on the motion of Governor Pownall, its benefits were extended to America.

Nullum
Tempus
Bill.

C H A P.
XV.

1769.

28th Feb.
Arrears of
the civil list
discharged.

A message from the King announced a deficiency in the revenue of the civil list, by which he had been compelled to contract debts, amounting to five hundred and thirteen thousand five hundred and eleven pounds, which he requested the House would enable him to discharge. A motion being made for papers to account for this arrear, they were promised by the ministry, but on condition that the King's request should not be delayed, as the papers could not be readily prepared. After three days of warm debate, the report of the committee was received, and the sum granted.

2d Mar.
27th Feb.
Agreement
with the
East India
Company.

An advantageous agreement with the East India Company was concluded for five years, during which term they were bound to pay an annuity of four hundred thousand pounds, and to export a certain quantity of British goods. They were at liberty to increase their dividend within that time to twelve and a half per cent. provided the increase in any one year should not exceed one per cent.: a deduction from the sum payable to government, proportionate to any decrease of dividend which necessity might compel, was allowed; and if the dividend should be reduced to six per cent. the payment to government was to cease; but any surplus of the Company's cash remaining in England, after payment of certain specified debts, was to be lent to the public at two per cent.

Prorogation.
9th May.

These were the principal parliamentary transactions of the session, which was terminated by a speech from the throne of considerable length: "It gives me great concern," the King said, "to be obliged to recommend to you, with more than ordinary earnestness, that you would all, in your several counties, exert your utmost efforts for the maintenance of public peace, and good order. You must be sensible that whatever obstructs the regular execution of the laws, or weakens the authority of the magistrate, must lessen the only security the people can have for the

undisturbed enjoyment of their rights and liberties. From your endeavours in this common cause I promise myself the most salutary effect : on my part no countenance or support shall be wanting : for as I have ever made, and ever shall make, our excellent constitution the rule of my own conduct, so shall I always consider it equally my duty to exert every power with which that constitution has intrusted me, for preserving it safe from violations of every kind ; fully convinced, that in so doing I shall most effectually provide for the true interest and happiness of my people."

C H A P.

XV.

1769.

CHAPTER THE SIXTEENTH.

1766—1770.

Affairs of India. — Conduct of Lord Clive. — State of the Company's possessions. — Mode of letting lands. — Reform attempted. — Difficulties of the Company. — Mismanagement in India. — Immense exportation of bullion. — Gold coined. — Regulation of inland trade. — Lord Clive returns to England. — Account of Hyder Ally — his enmity against the English. — The Nizam of the Deccan declares war — but is compelled to make peace. — Progress of the war with Hyder Ally till the peace. — Effects of the war. — Alarm in England. — Depreciation of India Stock. — Supervisors appointed. — Claims of Government. — Final adjustment. — Perturbation of the public. — Middlesex petition. — London petition. — Publication of Junius's Letters — his libel on the King. — Beckford elected Lord Mayor. — Affairs of Ireland. — Augmentation of the military establishment. — Money bill rejected. — The lord lieutenant's protest. — Sudden prorogation of the Irish parliament.

C H A P.
XVI.

1766.
Conduct
of Lord
Clive.

LORD Clive displayed the utmost judgment and prudence in framing and enforcing a system of economy in India, which tended to promote the interest, and replenish the coffers of his employers; but the vigour and resolution which he exerted against peculation, drew on him virulent censures, and his conduct was arraigned with unusual severity. It was peevishly alleged that his reforms were not thought of till his own fortune was made; and had the same rigid principles which he was now inclined to put in practice against his inferiors, been enforced to the prejudice of his interests, he would never have acquired that wealth which many contemplated with envy, and few considered as the reward of equivalent services. He was accused of arrogance in assuming to himself the merit of the late pacification, as the successes which enabled him

to make so good terms, were all obtained during his absence, and he arrived only in time to sanction measures, which, without his interference, would have been equally well arranged.^a

C H A P.
XVI.
1766.

The acquisition of an extensive and important territory, abounding in the means of wealth, promised an ample and gratifying return, both to the Company and their servants; but they were too precipitate in their speculations. The riches of that part of India are the produce of laborious industry, encouraged by habitual moderation, and a facility of subsistence. The late revolutions, and the feebleness and vices incident to the government of the nabobs, had exhausted and impoverished the country. The lands which fell into the hands of the Company by the late treaty could not be immediately let to advantage; and the necessity of intrusting inferior agents with a too great portion of authority encouraged abuses.

State of the
Company's
possession in
India.

The mode of letting farms in India was unfavourable to cultivation, and ill calculated to produce benefit to the owners. The domains ceded by Mir Cosim were let, in 1762, by public auction, to the best bidders, for the short term of three years. Needy adventurers, without character or integrity, outbid the old farmers, who, having offered the utmost value according to a well-formed judgment, were obliged to relinquish the habitations they had long tenanted, and the fields they had long cultivated. The new possessors were enabled, by the plunder of those whom they ejected, to pay the first year's rent according to agreement, but afterward, had neither the means nor the inclination. The natives who took large tracts of land, under such disadvantageous circumstances, could not afford to encourage the inferior farmers by loans of money, according to the practice of former times: and without such assistance,

Mode of
letting
lands.

^a See Letter from Messrs. Leycester and Gray to the Court of Directors, 29th September 1765, with a parliament speech, and several other letters published by authority. Transactions in India, p. 59.

C H A P. even the implements of husbandry, were wanting.
 XVI. A considerable portion of the renters, incapable of
 1766. fulfilling their engagements, applied for a discharge
 in the second year, glad, by foregoing their whole
 property, to obtain relief from their unprofitable
 contracts. Thus, under a nominal increase of re-
 venue, the Company suffered a deficiency of real
 product; and as the demands of ministry and their
 stated expences required vast supplies, they were
 obliged to impose an unprecedented tax on the
 bazee zemen, or charity lands.

Its effects.

Reform at-
 tempted.

A better administration of the territorial property
 being indispensably necessary, a strict scrutiny was
 made into the nature of several tenures. It was dis-
 covered, that bidders had been found for little more
 than two-fifths of the lands, and that the most bene-
 ficial leases were held in different names by officers
 of the Company, and by Gentoo agents acting clan-
 destinely for Europeans. The remainder of the lands
 in the immediate tenure of the government fell
 under the care of collectors, who oppressed the
 people, and accounted in a most dishonourable man-
 ner to their employers. The farmers, anxious to
 retrieve some part of the property which had been
 taken from them by the hand of rapacity, offered, on
 condition of receiving a small proportion of the spoil,
 to lay open all the frauds of the collectors: the first
 object of the select committee was to remove the op-
 pressive and unjust landholders, and to find good
 tenants in their stead; this was easily accomplished;
 for, even at a bad season, substantial natives were
 willing to take farms on equitable terms, consenting
 at the same time to pay any general tax imposed on
 the whole province. The officers of government
 were also obliged to relinquish the farms which they
 had clandestinely obtained, or to forego their offices.
 Thus each individual reaped the benefits of his own
 labours; the lands became highly cultivated and im-
 proved, and the net receipts from the demesnes sub-

ject to these beneficial regulations, were largely augmented. C H A P.
XVI.

These measures, however wise and salutary in themselves, created innumerable enemies to the government. Every officer who returned home, or corresponded with his friends, taught disappointment to assume the language of philanthropy and patriotism; and, considering himself the victim of reform, began to point out faults in the conduct of those who occasioned his complaints. From the reports of these people, and the eagerness of the proprietors of stock to realize advantages which they thought were injuriously withheld, the directors had been driven to declare an increased dividend. 1766.
Discon-
tents and
com-
plaints.

The revenues expected from India would in time have justified their measures; but some delays were necessary: the government of the English was new, and their acquaintance with the territory, genius, and resources of the inhabitants, incomplete. No leisure was allowed to perfect their knowledge, or give beneficial effect to their projects. The stated demands of the mogul, the nabob, and the army, the increased dividend voted by the proprietors, and the sums stipulated to be paid to the treasury, formed such a mass of engagements, and required such eager and unremitting exertions to obtain supplies, as, in the end, proved highly prejudicial: and the disputes between the Company and their servants breaking out into mutual criminations, afforded means of cavilling to the enemies of the establishment. The great information which was thus afforded of their conduct and proceedings gave so many plausible topics of censure, that their defence always failed of making a due impression; and the too great eagerness of parliament and the proprietors to derive immediate advantages from the acquisitions in India produced many sinister events, which moderation and temperance might have prevented. Difficulties
of the
Company.

These circumstances occasioned a large invest-

C H A P.
XVI.

1766.

Mismanagement
in India.

ment to be made by the Company, or in other words, large orders to be sent for the manufactures of the country, while the price was increased by a competition with the French and Dutch, who now began to dispute a priority and preference in the market. The method of obtaining the supplies or investments had hitherto been by contracts with certain merchants, who advanced to the labourers such sums as were necessary for their subsistence during the performance of their tasks. Without this accommodation they must often be unable to procure even the first materials. The merchants were sometimes not sufficiently opulent to lend all the monies required for these purposes; and as the demands of the Company were urgent and immense, the government at Calcutta thought it consistent with their interest to afford those supplies, and enter into contracts with the manufacturers, who must else have remained unemployed. This measure, although sufficiently prudent in appearance to justify the experiment, was not attended with the desired success. A government seldom makes contracts which are advantageous in the detail, and frauds are practised on them without scruple, which an individual would feel repugnance in attempting toward his equal. Thus the Indian manufacturers, after receiving the sums advanced by the Board, would, unless strictly watched, sell the commodities for which they had contracted to other persons. The necessity of employing vigilance, demanded the service of numerous gomastahs, or agents; these men were necessarily intrusted with extensive powers, which they often perverted; and the authorities given to prevent fraud became a source of oppression. The influence of these agents proved so destructive of industry, that the Board reverted to the old practice of contracting with merchants.

The increasing investments of Great Britain and other nations, together with the China trade, which

was at that time entirely carried on in bullion, contributed greatly to drain Bengal of current specie. In five years next succeeding the grant of the Dewannee, the sums exported by the English Company only amounted to one million two hundred and eighty-four thousand and eight pounds sterling; and from the year 1757 to 1766, when a gold coinage was commenced, Bengal had lost, by deficiency in the usual imports of bullion, and by the exportation of silver, more than eight millions sterling. In vain the select committee represented this alarming fact to the court of directors, and requested them to find means of alleviating the growing distress: the directors, assailed by opposition, and urged by government, were unable to apply their attention to so remote an object; perhaps, too, they, like others, were deluded by a belief in the inexhaustible riches of Bengal, and did not give full credit to the informations which reached them: thus the exportation of bullion still continued.

C H A P.

XVI.

1766.

Immense
exporta-
tion of bul-
lion.

To supply the deficiency occasioned by this constant drain on the silver of Bengal, the select committee found it necessary to establish a gold coinage for their immediate purposes. But as gold was not the usual currency of the country, the habits and prejudices of the natives opposed the easy reception of it in payment: it could not be made use of in the China trade, or exported to advantage: proper measures were not taken to ensure its purity, and therefore it was often suspected, and in fact frequently much deteriorated in value: still necessity enforced the use of it as a circulating medium; and the exchange, always against the possessor, by its various fluctuations in different parts of India, gave birth to a dangerous traffic, which increased the distress of the Company. Silver at the same time rose in value, because native officers, who were constantly employed in preserving that coinage unadulterated, melted down the rupees, once in three

Gold coin-
ed in India.

C H A P.

XVI.

1766.

Regula-
tion of the
inland
trade.

years. Thus the introduction of gold coin, instead of facilitating commerce, and rendering the transaction of business more pleasant, occasioned additional inconveniences, and engendered new disputes.

Another regulation adopted by Lord Clive and the select committee related to the inland trade. The insolence and injustice with which this traffic had been conducted by the servants of the Company formed a principal ground of the quarrel between the council and Mir Cossim ; and when, after the arrival of Lord Clive, the select committee proposed to revive the inland commerce in salt, tobacco, and beetle nut, it is not surprising that the directors, although they agreed to permit it for some time, afterwards retracted their assent, expressing a total disapprobation. By the projected monopoly, the necessary article of salt was reduced in price to the consumer, while great benefits accrued to government from an augmentation of the revenue ; nor was the native exposed to insolence, injustice or extortion. The supposed ordinary effect of monopoly, that of producing scarcity, was not to be apprehended in this case, because the advantage of the monopolists did not consist in raising the price of a small quantity, but in dispersing a large quantity at a reasonable rate. The article could, without difficulty, be increased to any amount, and the greater the sale, the more ample was the revenue to government, and the more abundant the profit and the praise of the council. Tobacco and beetle nut, do not appear so much in the light of necessities ; but such is the effect of habit among the Indians, that these two luxuries are considered no less indispensable than salt, or even food itself. While the monopoly of these articles remained in the hands of persons appointed by and under the superintendence of the council ; while an immense capital excluded all mean and narrow views ; the supplies were abundant, and the distribution general and easy : but when the order of the court of directors arrived for the discon-

tinuance of this trade by the council, it fell into the hands of individuals, whose interests were different, and whose modes of conduct were also essentially dissimilar. Their object was to produce the greatest possible profit from the smallest imaginable capital, and therefore to take advantage of the wants and desires of individuals, and even of bodies; to alarm by fictitious scarcities, and reduce the quantity of all these articles, that at a less expence in superintendence, carriage, and duties, they might secure an equal or superior return.

C H A P.
XVI.
1766.

On receiving the Company's orders, Lord Clive carefully excluded their servants from any share in a traffic, which he foresaw would become a source of endless iniquities: he had before relinquished his share in the benefits of the trade, and now endeavoured to restrain all abuses which might ensue from Europeans embarking in it with too much avidity. His efforts were not attended with the desired success; but he did not continue in India to witness their failure. His health was impaired, and his life in imminent danger from a late illness. He had completed, to the utmost of his power, the object of his mission, and returned to England not enriched, but five thousand pounds less opulent by his expedition. Mr. Verelst was for a time his successor.^b

Prudent
conduct of
Lord Clive.

He returns
to England.

Jan. 1767.

Soon after Lord Clive's departure, hostilities were again commenced between the British and the natives in consequence of the intrigues and turbulence of a newly-created potentate. Hyder Ally, or, as he was called from his military rank, Hyder Naick, was son of Fatty Naick, an officer of distinguished bravery, who commanded a thousand musket men in the service of Abdul Rassoul Khan, nabob of Sirpi, a government bordering on the kingdom of Mysore. Fatty Naick was slain in an engagement between the nabob of Sirpi

Account of
Hyder Ally.

^b For these particulars reference has been had to Verelst's View of the English Government in Bengal, with the Appendix; the papers published by authority; and the History of Transactions in India.

C H A P.

XVI.

1767.

and Cuttulich Khan, subah of the Deccan. Hyder Naick, thus left an orphan in his earliest years, disclaimed every other pursuit, and devoted himself entirely to military duties. At the age of twenty-five, he appeared in the army of Carrasoree Nanderauze, brother-in-law to the king of Mysore, at the head of about three-score men, and assumed the name of Hyder Ally. The discipline of his small troop, and his own judgment and valour, were so conspicuous, that in three or four years, he found himself enabled to raise five hundred sepoy, armed and equipped in the European manner, and two hundred horse, with a small train of artillery. His force was less respectable in point of numbers, than of military science; they were formed by his own care, and exactly instructed in the European tactics. His activity and judgment in using all the advantages with which he was supplied by fortune, aided by an ambitious and treacherous disposition, enabled him, after a series of contests, intrigues, and treasons, to depose his sovereign, and assume the government of Mysore. This event took place in 1763. When invested with sovereign authority, he pursued his conquests, and added several other demesnes to his usurped territory.

His enmity
against the
English.

Finding the British power a strong restraint on the native princes, and an insurmountable barrier against his further encroachments, he resolved to excite all the country powers whom he could influence, to commence hostilities; and began by prevailing on the nizam of the Deccan to forego his connexion with the Company, to enter into alliance with him, and declare war against the English.

The nizam
of the Dec-
— declares
war.

They are
defeated.

This combination was soon formed, but the council of Madras were prepared to meet it with vigorous opposition. Col. Smith was detached, at the head of a respectable force, to encounter the allies. He engaged them at Errour, near Trinomaly, and, notwithstanding an immense superiority of numbers, and the personal bravery and judgment of

26th Feb.

Hyder Ally, routed them with great loss. The nizam of the Deccan, no longer apprehensive of his ally, concluded a peace with the Company, and ceded to them the Dewannee of the Balagat Carnatic, which included the territory of Hyder.

C H A P.
XVI.

1767.
The nizam
makes
peace.

Capture of
Mangalore.

But the vigour and valour of that prince were not subdued by one reverse of fortune: he retired to his own dominions, and prepared to carry on a protracted war in an inaccessible country. The English fitted out a squadron from Bombay against Mangalore, one of Hyder Ally's principal sea ports; took the fort with inconsiderable loss, and brought away nine large vessels, besides several smaller; but from an injudicious anxiety to retain their acquisition, left a few soldiers to garrison the fort, who were all subsequently captured.

25th Feb.
1768.

Colonel Smith proceeded in pursuit of the enemy, but could not bring him to another engagement. He penetrated into his country, took several fortresses, and was advancing toward the capital, when his attention was called to other objects. Hyder Ally, taking advantage of the error which Colonel Smith had committed, in proceeding so far from his own territory, by a judicious and dexterous plan of operations, got between the English forces and the Carnatic, which he ravaged at pleasure. The Company's troops, now obliged to turn their attention to the defence of their own dominions and those of their allies, abandoned all their conquests, and hastened to meet Hyder Ally, who, indulging his ancient animosity against Mahommed Ally Khan, nabob of Arcot, was committing unbounded depredations in his country. Eager to defend so faithful and honourable an adherent of Great Britain, Colonel Smith used every effort to bring Hyder to a general engagement: but that cautious adversary, justly appreciating the superiority of European tactics, would not risk a conflict: no majority of num-

Error of the
English
commander.

Sagacious
conduct of
Hyder Ally.

C H A P.
XVI.

1767.
Failure of
the British,
at Mul-
waggle.

4th Oct.
Engagement
between Co-
lonel Wood
and Hyder
Ally.

bers, no advantage of opportunity, could for a long time tempt him to try his fate in the field.

At length Colonel Wood, with a small detachment, being repulsed in an attack on a fort called Mulwaggle, Hyder, with fourteen thousand horse, twelve thousand matchlocks, and six battalions of sepoy, attempted to cut off his retreat. Although Colonel Wood had only four hundred and sixty Europeans, and two thousand three hundred sepoy, he felt no hesitation in assailing the enemy. The engagement was obstinately contested, and lasted from eleven o'clock in the forenoon, till five in the evening. The field was alternately won and lost several times, but at length the superiority of British discipline decided the victory; and Hyder retreated, leaving the ground covered with dead. The English lost a few officers, and about three hundred privates were killed and wounded. Several officers were also taken prisoners, and two pieces of cannon fell into the hands of the enemy.

1768.

Undaunted by this defeat, Hyder Ally again availing himself of his superior cavalry, and leaving the British army in the Carnatic, proceeded to the neighbourhood of Madras. The presidency, sensible of the ruinous consequences attending this warfare, and apprized that Hyder was forming an alliance with one of the Mahrattaprinces, offered a negotiation for peace. The continuance of war was not more desirable to the Indian than to the English; whatever temporary success might crown his arms, he was sensible that it was not in his power to make any impression on the fortresses of his enemy, and that, while at a distance from his own territories, he was exposed to the dangers of insurrection and revolution. In his treaty for peace, he displayed the same judgment as in the conduct of the war: he refused to accede to a proposed truce for fifty days, which would afford time for the English to collect new forces; but agreed

to equitable conditions, when proposed within a limited period. The forts and places captured were restored, and no compensations received on either side for the expences of the war. The treaty of peace was attended with an alliance offensive and defensive: stipulations were entered into for mutual aids, and a free trade established.^c

CHAP.
XVI.

1768.

Thus terminated a war in which the English acquired neither glory nor advantage. The conduct of it was rendered difficult, and the efforts of skill and valour were palsied, by the appointment of field deputies, an office unknown in the English service. These deputies attended the army and regulated its motions; they were interested in the contracts, and therefore supposed to be more intent on private emolument than the public good; they protracted the war, embarrassed the genius, and restrained the operations of the commanders. Many brave officers retired in disgust; several who remained served without spirit; and some, preferring to seek their fortunes in another service, went over to the native princes. This disgust and indifference proved of more advantage to Hyder Ally than numbers, discipline, or valour; it enabled him to retrieve his affairs, and compel the British government to sue for peace.

Observation
on the con-
duct of the
war.

The consequences of this war were incalculably injurious to the affairs of the Company. The presidency of Madras, unable alone to support the expences, was obliged to draw on the council at Calcutta for supplies. The money remitted from Bengal, during the depreciation of coinage, occasioned additional difficulties; an immense loss ensued from the enhanced rate of exchange, and the possessors of silver which could not be adulterated were so tenacious, that very few rupees were in circulation. The distress introduced by these means, was so great, that the investments could no longer be made from Ma-

Effects of
the war.

^c Robson's Life of Hyder Ally. Transactions in India.

C H A P.
XVI.

1768.

Alarm in
England.

May 1769.
Depreci-
ation of
India stock.
14th June.
Supervisors
appointed.

Disputes in
the India
house.

Claim of
government.

27th July.

dras to China, and the want of specie concurred with the dread of the enemy to suspend the labours of the manufacturers. In this crisis, a new subject of alarm arose in Sujah ul Dowlah, who was augmenting and disciplining his forces; but a deputation from the council at Calcutta, sent to examine into his conduct, easily induced him to disband a great part of his troops, and enter into a compact not to increase them beyond a certain stipulated number.

Great alarms were excited in England by the apparent danger of the Company's affairs; those who recently contemplated India as a never-failing source of riches, and as a territory sufficiently opulent to provide for all the exigences of Great Britain, now considered it as a precarious, and perhaps unprofitable tenure. The distance of the country, and uncertainty of information, aggravated the horrors of apprehension, and produced sensations of despair. India stock fell in a few days sixty per cent. Under these circumstances, the directors thought it necessary to send out new commissioners, whom they called supervisors, with authority to examine and rectify the concerns of every department, and a full controul over all their servants in India. This important trust was confided to three gentlemen who had already filled high situations in India; Mr. Vansittart and Mr. Scrafton having distinguished themselves in civil employs, and Colonel Ford in the military service.

Still the usual party disputes prevailed in the India house, and great debates arose, not only on the nomination of supervisors, but on their powers. These differences were scarcely terminated, before the directors were further embarrassed by a claim of the ministry, that a servant of the crown should be allowed to take a principal share in the management of their affairs. This demand was made in consequence of an application from the court of directors for the employment of a naval force of two ships of the line, and some frigates, in their service; and

as the petition was not immediately acceded to, it was enforced by a request sanctioned by the whole body of proprietors at a general court.

CHAP.
XVI.

An answer was received from Lord Weymouth, who pointed out some objections in law to the commission of the supervisors, and requested that it should be re-considered; and required that the naval officers sent out by government should have unlimited power in the regulation of maritime affairs. The jealousy of the court against any attempt to encroach on their authority, on one hand, and their dread of losing the advantages to be derived from a strong naval force, on the other, occasioned numerous and violent debates, and a long correspondence between the directors and the secretary of state. At length a compromise was effected, and Sir John Lindsay, the admiral appointed by government, sailed for the Gulph of Persia, with full powers to make peace and war in Persia only. The supervisors departed in a ship belonging to the Company.

1768.
11th Aug.
Correspondence on
the subject.

30th Aug.
Final ad-
justment.

22d Aug.

The allusion in the King's speech, at the close of the session, to the perturbed state of the public mind, was strongly founded in fact; for at no period of history was a more general, audacious, and clamorous opposition exhibited in a regular government. Before the rising of parliament, a letter was received by the speaker of the House of Commons, enumerating supposed encroachments on the liberties of the people, and threatening another revolution^a. Every artifice was used to increase the fury of the public, and incite them to make the privilege of petitioning, reserved by the bill of rights, the means of giving pain to the King, and conveying sentiments of disloyalty to the foot of the throne. Among the engines used to forward the views of faction, and keep alive the irritability of the populace, was Allen, the father of the unfortunate youth who was killed in the

Perturbation of the
public.

19th April
1768.

^a Gentleman's Magazine, 1769, p. 213.

C H A P. riot in St. George's Fields. A tomb-stone was
 XVI. erected, inscribed on all sides with inflammatory
 1768. narratives, verses, and texts from the holy scripture,
 describing his fate in acrimonious terms, and invoking
 vengeance on his murderers^c. The parent was
 also induced to attend at St. James's with a petition
 which, in terms of reproach and clamorous invective,
 demanded justice against "The cruel murderers
 " of his beloved child, whose blood cried aloud for
 " vengeance."

Middlesex
 petition.

24th May.

London
 petition.

5th July.

Publication
 of Junius's
 Letters.

21st Jan.
 1769.

The rage of publishing disloyal proclamations, under the form of petitions, was now general, and the county of Middlesex took the lead. Fifteen hundred and sixty-five freeholders signed a petition to the King, containing a series of aspersions on his conduct from the period of his accession, accusing the ministers of treason, and praying for their dismissal. The citizens of London adopted a similar measure, and made their conduct still more conspicuous by altercations with the secretary of state, and Lord Huntingdon, on points of etiquette. Their petition was an abstract of that from the county of Middlesex, with some additions, and was presented to the King at a levee. The electors of Westminster petitioned for a dissolution of parliament, and their example was followed by many counties, cities, and towns throughout the kingdom. A few addresses of an opposite tendency were presented.

Among the most conspicuous of those whom the rage of political discussion engaged in publications, was an anonymous author, who sent his productions to a newspaper, under the signature of Junius. His essays commenced with the present year, and, with occasional interruptions, continued till the beginning of 1772. In him the ministry found a severe and formidable censor: his information was extensive and minute, and applied to

^c See Annual Register, 1769 116.

many objects which were supposed to be secret. He detailed without scruple or delicacy, all the facts in his possession, and often supplied a deficiency of information by bold conjecture or shameless fiction. His writings were distinguished by energy of thought, perspicuity of style, felicity of illustration, and brilliancy of wit: but his wit was scurrilous and malignant; wounding, without remorse, the honour of a gentleman, the feelings of a father, and the dignity of the sovereign. Although he made personal topics the principal vehicles of his satire, his knowledge was not confined to mere anecdote, but comprized a general acquaintance with the laws and constitution of the country, the history and usages of parliament. Junius was long the admiration of England, but perhaps his talents were too highly valued. Many political writers before him had possessed his advantages; and whatever opinion may have been studiously diffused respecting his knowledge, wit, and eloquence; in these requisites he did not excel the great party champions of the late reign, Bolingbroke, Pulteney, and Chesterfield. The secrecy in which he effectually involved his real person, was highly advantageous to him as a writer. It furnished him with the opportunity of declaring such sentiments as would be agreeable to the public, without reference to any opinions he might previously have entertained, and enabled him to assail men in every rank and condition of life, without possibility of retaliation, or dread of inquiry. Those who answered, presented a full mark to his assaults, and their principles, manners, professions, and even their habits, were unsparingly attacked, while he remained impassive to reproach, and exempt from the necessity of defence. Perhaps too, much of the curiosity and eagerness with which his publications were received, resulted from this circumstance. A series of satires presented for so long a period, from one pen, would have ceased to excite regard, had any circumstance respecting the

C H A P.

XVI.

1769.

author been known. Those who by his conversation could have learned his sentiments, by his connexions could have divined his motives, or from his pursuits have explored his means of information, would soon have become languid readers, and the sensation of indifference, spreading from several quarters, would have extended to a general disregard, perhaps to contempt. Even with all the advantages he possessed, Junius, in order to stimulate the public curiosity, was occasionally compelled to assume a tone of brutal ferocity, which reduced his compositions to a level with those of the most profligate libellers, and sanctioned the imputation of a motive for concealment, very remote from an honourable love of freedom in the declaration of his opinions.

19th Dec.
His libel on
the King.

Anxious to gratify to the utmost that licentious disposition on which the success of his productions in a great measure depended, this writer thought fit to address to the public, through his accustomed channel, a virulent attack on the person, conduct, and government of the King, and threatened general dissatisfaction, rebellion, and revolution, as the result of the present measures. By this letter, the printer, and several others who re-published it, incurred the penalties of the law; but the popularity of the author was not diminished by the audacity which impelled him to the verge of treason.

Beckford
elected lord
mayor.

With a view to embarrass government, the city of London again nominated Alderman Beckford lord mayor. An attempt was made to prevent his election, by referring to some bye-laws of the corporation, passed in the reigns of Henry VI. and Henry VIII. by which it was declared that the same person could not serve that office twice within seven years; but this objection was over-ruled by precedents. Mr. Beckford, declining the proposed honour, was clamorously urged by the livery, and at length agreed to accept it. Lord Holland, who had been grossly reflected on, in the late petition of

22d Sept.

the livery to the King, wrote to the late lord mayor, requesting to know the author of the aspersion: the livery now passed resolutions, avowing the intention to apply those accusations to Lord Holland, and urging their representatives to procure his impeachment.

While such was the temper of the public mind in England, Ireland was not more tranquil or contented; the octennial act, from which so many beneficial effects were expected, was no longer an object of exultation than while it was recent. The great expences attending elections were severely felt, the constant residence of the lord lieutenant, which now first became a part of his duty, gave offence to many who found their power and influence diminished, and a strong opposition was speedily formed. Loyal addresses, in answer to the speech on opening the session of parliament, being voted without much opposition in either house, the government, encouraged by this appearance, ventured to attempt augmenting the military establishment from 12,000 to 15,235 men. The battalions on the British establishment consisted at this period, of 529 men each; those on the Irish establishment of no more than 328. In consequence of this disproportion, whenever an Irish regiment was ordered on foreign service, it became necessary, before its departure, to complete its numbers by drafts from other Irish regiments; a mode of proceeding equally mortifying and dispiriting to the officer and the private, and extremely detrimental to the service. To remedy this inconvenience, it was now proposed to decrease the numbers on the British and augment those on the Irish establishment. By the new plan, instead of thirty battalions of infantry, twenty-seven only were to be maintained: five in their turn were to be always employed on foreign service; the remaining twenty-two, which, together with the cavalry, would amount to 12,000 men, were to remain for the protection of Ireland. It was also proposed to establish a regular rotation of

C H A P.
XVI.

1769.
10th Oct.

Affairs of
Ireland.

17th Oct.
Augmenta-
tions of
military
establish-
ment.

C H A P.

XVI.

1769.

the infantry, who should relieve each other in their respective situations throughout the King's dominions. A bill to this effect had been brought into a former parliament, but miscarried: it now came recommended by an earnest message from the lord lieutenant, and although a strong opposition was still made, ultimately passed.

Money bill
rejected.

1st Nov.

In another effort the opposition party was more successful: a money bill had, according to the usage established nearly fourscore years, originated and been framed in the privy-council. It was returned from England under the great seal, and read in the House of Commons. On the second reading, the bill was rejected, after a strenuous debate^f; and the reason expressly assigned by the House was, its not having originated with them. Yet to shew, as they said, that they were not actuated by a factious or innovating spirit, they liberally and unconditionally provided for the exigencies of government. The rejected bill only supplied three months expenditure; but they passed an act which allowed a fund for two years, and amounted to 2,168,681*l*.

Lord lieutenant's
protest.
26th Dec.

This proceeding did not atone to the lord lieutenant for the invasion of the royal authority by the rejection of the former bill. In a speech to both Houses, after returning thanks for the ample supplies, he condemned, in terms of strong reproach, the rejection of the money bill sent from the privy-council, asserting that they had violated the law, and intrenched upon the just rights of the Crown: and he made in full parliament, a protest against the resolutions of the Commons, by which they claimed, that money bills should originate with them; requesting the clerk of the House of Lords to read his protest, and that it should be entered on the journals of the lower house.

Proceedings
thereon.

The lord lieutenant's displeasure was not unknown before he declared it in parliament, and both Houses

^f 94 to 71.

prepared to meet it with adequate resistance. In the House of Lords a motion was made, that directions be given to the speaker, not to suffer a protest of any person, who was not a lord of parliament, to be entered on the journals. But the question was over-ruled by a large majority, and consequently the lord lieutenant's protest was recorded. At the conclusion of his speech, the parliament was prorogued; but the Commons, on returning to their own House, forbade their clerk to enter the speech, which they had just heard, on the journals, as it implied a protest against a proceeding in which they were determined to persevere.

C H A P.
XVI.
1769.

Prorogation
of the Irish
parliament.

The sudden prorogation of parliament at a period when they had done no business, except voting supplies to government, excited much resentment. The temporary laws which related to so many important objects were expired, and the regulations of trade, the public security, the supply of the capital, and the public charities were left in an unprovided state: consternation, distress, and discontent were loudly expressed in all quarters, and the whole kingdom was in confusion and disorder.

Inconve-
niences of
the measure.

CHAPTER THE SEVENTEENTH.

1770.

Meeting of parliament. — King's speech. — Address opposed by Lord Chatham — supported by Lord Mansfield. — Lord Chatham's reply. — Speech of Lord Camden. — Address opposed in the House of Commons — but carried. — Second debate. — Strength of opposition. — Conduct of Lord Camden — his dismissal. — Mr. Yorke appointed lord chancellor — his death — and character. — Great seal put in commission. — Motion in the lords for a committee on the state of the nation. — The Marquis of Rockingham's speech. — Answer of the Duke of Grafton. — Lord Chatham. — Total change of ministry. — Lord North's ministry. — State of the nation debated in the House of Commons — in the House of Lords. — Committee dissolved. — Motion of the Earl of Marchmont, affirming that the House of Lords had no right to interfere in the decisions of the House of Commons — supported by Lords Mansfield and Egmont — opposed by Lord Chatham. — Altercations respecting the official conduct of Lord Camden — vindicated by Lord Chatham. — Lord Marchmont's motion carried. — Bill for regulating the consequences of expulsion withdrawn. — Turbulence of the city of London. — Proceedings of the common-council and livery — their remonstrance to the King — delivery to him on the throne — his answer. — Proceedings in parliament. — Address of both Houses. — Remonstrances of Westminster and Middlesex. — Wilkes liberated. — Lord Chatham's bill for reversing the decision of the House of Commons in his case — debates on it — rejected. — Lord Chatham's motion on the answer to the London remonstrance — debate — motion rejected. — Lord Chatham's motion for a dissolution of parliament — rejected. — Mr. Dowdeswell's motion to disqualify revenue officers — rejected. — Law for annulling the protections granted by peers to their servants. — Lord Mansfield's speech in support of the measure. — Mr. Grenville's bill for deciding petitions on controverted elections. — Inquiry into the civil-list. — Petition from American merchants. — Repeal of duties, except on tea. — Debate. — Act passed. — Motion for papers — for examination of the instructions to governors. — Motions in the lords. — Prorogation.

CHAP.
XVII.

1770.

WHEN the British parliament assembled, the King in his speech, mentioned the affliction he felt at being obliged to acquaint them that the dis-

tresses of the subject were likely to be augmented by a distemper, which had recently appeared among the horned cattle*; but by the advice of the privy-council, he had used his best efforts to stop the progress of the contagion. He observed, that the great burthens already imposed on his subjects, by the necessity of bringing the late war to a prosperous conclusion, made him vigilant to prevent the present disturbances in Europe from extending to those places where the security, honour and interest of this nation might make it necessary for him to become a party: and that he had great hopes of maintaining the country in peace. He adverted with regret to the dissatisfactions still prevailing in America, and the combinations tending to destroy the commercial connexion between the colonies and the mother country. In conclusion, he recommended both houses to avoid heats and animosities, and cultivate a spirit of harmony, which would, above all things, contribute to maintain, in their proper lustre, the strength, reputation, and prosperity of the country, and strengthen the attachment of the subject to that excellent constitution of government from which they derived such distinguished advantages.

Lord Chatham, who was now sufficiently recovered to attend his duty in Parliament, opposed the address. His age and infirmities, he said, would have formed a sufficient excuse, if he had continued in retirement, and never again taken a part in public affairs; but the alarming state of the nation forced him once more to come forward, and execute that duty which he owed to his God, his sovereign, and his country, and which he was determined to perform at the hazard of his life. He gave his approbation to the prudent measures taken with respect to the distemper among cattle, and avowed his opinion that there was a power in some degree arbitrary, with

C H A P.
XVII.

1770.
9th Jan.

1770.
Meeting of
Parliament.

The address
opposed by
Lord Chat-
ham.

* This speech ■■■ unsparingly ridiculed in the public prints, and the session ■■■
nick-named the *horned-cattle session*.

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

which the crown was intrusted by the constitution, such as he had himself exercised to save the people from starving.

With this observation Lord Chatham's approbation of the measures of government ended. He disapproved of the peace, and averred it had been made so improvidently, as to leave the country without a single ally: from this circumstance we had during a peace of seven years, been continually on the verge of war. France on the other hand, had carefully cultivated her alliances, especially Spain, and that thus the whole house of Bourbon was united within itself, and supported by the closest connexions with the principal powers in Europe.

But however important might be the consideration of foreign affairs, he considered the domestic situation of the country as demanding still greater attention. He lamented the unhappy measures which had divided the colonies from Great Britain, and which he feared had drawn them into unjustifiable excesses. But as the house had no documents, he could not concur in calling their proceedings unwarrantable: to use such an expression was passing sentence without hearing the cause or being acquainted with the facts. The discontent of two millions of people deserved consideration, and the foundation of it should be removed; but we should be cautious how we invaded the liberties of any part of our fellow subjects, however remote in situation, or unable to make resistance. The Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since they had quitted their native land, and gone to seek it in a desert.

His lordship proceeded to observe, that the parts of the address already adverted to, bore no comparison in point of interest to those which remained. There never was a time when the unanimity recommended by the King was more necessary: and it was the duty of the house to inquire into the causes of the notorious dissatisfaction expressed by the whole

English nation; to state them to their sovereign, and to give him their best advice in what manner he ought to act. The privileges of the House of Lords, however transcendant, however appropriate to them, stood, in fact, on the broad bottom of the people. The rights of the greatest and meanest subjects had the same foundation, the security of the law, common to all. It was therefore their highest interest, as well as their duty, to watch over and guard the people; for when the people had lost their rights, those of the peerage would soon become insignificant. "Be assured, my Lords," he continued, "that in whatever part of the empire you suffer slavery to be established, whether it be in America, in Ireland, or at home, you will find it a disease which spreads by contact, and soon reaches from the extremities to the heart. The man who has lost his own freedom, becomes from that moment an instrument, in the hands of an ambitious prince, to destroy the freedom of others." He then affirmed that the liberty of the subject was invaded, not only in the provinces but at home. The people were loud in their complaints, and would never return to a state of tranquillity till they obtained redress; nor ought they; for it were better to perish in a glorious contention for their rights, than to purchase a slavish tranquillity at the expence of a single iota of the constitution. He had no doubt the universal discontent of the nation arose from the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes, and therefore moved an amendment to the address, purporting, that "the House would with all convenient speed take into consideration the causes of the prevailing discontent, and particularly the proceedings of the House of Commons, touching the incapacity of John Wilkes; thereby refusing (by a resolution of one branch of the legislature only) to the subject his common right, "and depriving the electors of Middlesex of their free choice of a representative."

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.
Supported
by Lord
Mansfield.

Lord Mansfield opposed the amendment. He had never delivered an opinion on the legality of the proceedings in the House of Commons on the Middlesex election, nor should he, whatever expectations might be formed, now declare his sentiments. They were locked up in his own breast, and should die with him : he wished to avoid speaking on the subject : but the motion was of a nature so extraordinary and alarming, as to preclude the possibility of his remaining silent. He acknowledged the distracted state of the nation ; but was happy with a safe conscience to affirm, that it could in no respect be attributed to him. Declarations of law made by either House of Parliament were always attended with bad effects : he constantly opposed them when he had an opportunity, and never in his judicial capacity thought himself bound to honour them with the slightest regard. He considered general warrants illegal, or rather no warrants at all, but was sorry the House of Commons should declare it by their vote. Had they been declared legal, the courts at Westminster would have adjudged otherwise, and thus the vote of the House would have been treated with disrespect.

He shewed the distinction between general declarations of law and particular decisions which might judicially be made by either House, on a case regularly submitted to their discussion, and properly the subject of their jurisdiction. A question relating to the seat of one of their members could only be determined by that House ; nor was there an appeal from their decision. Wherever a court of justice is supreme, and their sentence final, as was the case of the House of Commons in matters of election, the determination of that court must be received and submitted to as the law of the land ; for if there be no appeal from a judicial sentence, where shall that sentence be questioned, or how can it be reversed ? He avoided entering into the merits of the late

decision, from a conviction that the Lords had no right to enquire into, or discuss the subject. The amendment threatened the most pernicious consequences to the nation, as it manifestly violated every form and law of Parliament, was a gross attack on the privileges of the House of Commons, and instead of promoting that harmony which the King had recommended, must inevitably throw the whole country into a flame. There never was an instance of the Lords inquiring into the proceedings of the House of Commons with respect to their own members; much less of their assuming a right to censure, or advising the crown to notice such proceedings.

The amendment would inevitably occasion a quarrel between the two Houses, or between the King and the Commons. If the lower House had acted wrong, that wrong would not be repaired by the Lords committing a still greater error. Their proceedings would in fact be no less ineffectual than irregular; for supposing the King should dissolve the Parliament, which he presumed to be the true object of the amendment, the next House of Commons, if they knew any thing of their own privileges, or of the laws, would undoubtedly, on the first day of the session, declare the proceeding a violation of the rights of the Commons. In acting otherwise, they would shamefully betray their constituents and themselves. In conclusion, he objected to the amendment, as irregular and unparliamentary, pregnant with pernicious consequences, and not calculated to produce any advantage.

Lord Chatham began his reply by extolling the use of common sense, in opposition to subtilty and ingenious refinement. He complained that the meaning of his amendment had been misrepresented, and denied having, either in the amendment, or in discourse, said one word touching the merits of the Middlesex election.

Lord
Chatham's
reply.

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

“The constitution of the country,” he observed, “has been openly invaded in fact; and I have heard with horror and astonishment, that invasion defended upon principle. What is this mysterious power, undefined by law, unknown to the subject, which we must not approach without leave, nor speak of without reverence; which no man may question, and to which all men must submit? I thought the slavish doctrine of passive obedience had long since been exploded; and, when our Kings were obliged to confess their title to the crown, and the rule of their government had no other foundation than the known laws of the land, I never expected to hear a divine right, or a divine infallibility, attributed to any other branch of the legislature. Power without right is the most odious and detestable object that can be offered to the human imagination: it is not only pernicious to those who are subject to it, but tends to its own destruction. It is what Littleton has truly described it, *res detestabilis et caduca*.—I acknowledge the just power, and reverence the constitution of the House of Commons. For their own sakes, I would prevent their assuming a jurisdiction which the constitution has denied them, lest, by grasping at an authority to which they have no right, they should forfeit that which they legally possess. But I affirm they have betrayed their constituents, and violated the constitution. Under pretence of declaring the law, they have made a law, and united in the same persons the offices of legislator and judge.”

His Lordship then distinguished between the legislative and jurisprudential functions of the House of Commons, denying that they had a supreme jurisdiction, or that their decision must be received and submitted to, as, *ipso facto* the law of the land. “The noble Lord assures us he knows not in what code the law of Parliament is to be found; that the House of Commons, when they act as judges, have

no law to direct them, but their own wisdom ; their decision is law ; and if they determine wrong, the subject has no appeal but to heaven. What, then, are all the generous efforts of our ancestors, are all those glorious contentions, by which they meant to secure to themselves, and transmit to their posterity, a known law, a certain rule of living, reduced to this conclusion, that instead of the arbitrary power of a King, we must submit to the arbitrary power of a House of Commons ? If this be true, what benefit do we derive from the exchange ? Tyranny is detestable in every shape, but in none so formidable as where it is assumed and exercised by a number of tyrants. But, this is not the fact, this is not the constitution ; we have a law of parliament, we have a code in which every honest man may find it. We have Magna Charta, we have the Statute Book, and the Bill of Rights. The people when they choose their representatives, never mean to convey to them the power of invading the rights, or trampling on the liberties of those whom they represent. What security would they have for their rights, if once they admitted that a court of judicature might determine questions, not by any known positive law, but by some vague, indeterminate, arbitrary rule ?”

He denied precedents to be law ; they were merely evidences of law, and of no authority, unless founded on, and confirmed by reason, taken from good and moderate times, not contradictory to any positive law, submitted to without reluctance by the people, unquestioned by the legislature, and not inimical to the spirit of the constitution. “ The first principle of the constitution is, that the subject shall not be governed by the *arbitrium* of any one man, or body of men (less than the whole legislature), but by certain laws, to which he has virtually given his consent, which are open to him to examine, and not beyond his ability to understand. But the late decision of the House of Commons on the Middle-

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

sex election is destitute of every one of those properties and conditions which I hold to be essential to the legality of such a decision. It is not founded in reason, it is not supported by a single precedent, and it contradicts Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights. Whether it be questioned by the legislature, will depend on your Lordships' resolution; but that it violates the spirit of the constitution, will, I think, be disputed by no man who has heard this day's debate, and who wishes well to the freedom of his country: yet, if we are to believe the noble Lord, this great grievance, this manifest violation of the first principles of the constitution, will not admit of a remedy; is not even capable of redress, unless we appeal at once to Heaven. My Lords, I have better hopes of the constitution, and a firmer confidence in the wisdom and constitutional authority of this House." After highly applauding the ancient nobility as founders of the constitution, and invoking the House not to degenerate from the glorious example of their ancestors, he said, "Those iron barons (for so I may call them when compared with the silken barons of modern days) were the guardians of the people; yet their virtues were never engaged in a question of such importance as the present. A breach has been made in the constitution—the battlements are dismantled—the citadel is open to the first invader—the walls totter—the constitution is not tenable. What remains, then, but for us to stand foremost in the breach, to repair, or perish in it?"

Great pains had been taken, Lord Chatham said, to excite alarm, by displaying the consequences of a difference between the two Houses. He was sensible of the importance and difficulty of the crisis, but distinguished between the representatives, and the collective body of the people; he was desirous, if the House must engage in contention, to have the nation on their side. "If this question be given up," he said, "the freeholders of England are reduced to a

condition baser than the peasantry of Poland. If they desert their own cause, they deserve to be slaves.

CHAP.
XVII.

1270.

“I am not now pleading the cause of an individual, but of every freeholder in England. In what manner this House may constitutionally interpose in their defence, and what kind of redress this case will require and admit, is not the present subject of consideration. The amendment, if agreed to, will naturally lead us to such an inquiry. That inquiry may, perhaps, point out the necessity of an act of the legislature, or it may lead to a conference with the other House. It is possible, that the inquiry may lead us to advise His Majesty to dissolve the parliament; nor have I any doubt of our right to give that advice, if we should think it necessary. His Majesty will then determine whether he will yield to the united petitions of the people of England, or maintain the House of Commons in the exercise of a legislative power, which heretofore abolished the House of Lords, and overturned the monarchy. I willingly acquit the present House of Commons of having actually formed so detestable a design; but they cannot themselves foresee to what excesses they may be carried hereafter; and for my own part, I should be sorry to trust to their future moderation. Unlimited power is apt to corrupt the mind; and this I know—that where the law ends, tyranny begins!”

The warmth of Lord Chatham seemed to communicate itself to Lord Camden. He said “I accepted the great seal without conditions; I meant not therefore to be trammelled by His Majesty; (I beg pardon) by his ministers; but I have suffered myself to be so too long. For some time I have beheld with silent indignation the arbitrary measures of the minister; I have often drooped and hung down my head in council, and disapproved, by my looks, those steps which I knew my avowed opposition could not prevent; I will do so no longer, but openly and

Lord
Camden.

C H A P.
XVII.

1770.

boldly speak my sentiments." He coincided in opinion with Lord Chatham respecting the incapacitating vote of the House of Commons; and added, that if in giving his opinion as a judge, he were to pay any respect to that vote, he should look upon himself as a traitor to his trust, and an enemy to his country. The ministry, he said, by their violent and tyrannical conduct, had alienated the minds of the people from His Majesty's government, he had almost said, from His Majesty's person; and in consequence, a spirit of discontent had spread itself into every corner of the kingdom, and was every day increasing; and if some methods were not devised to appease the clamours so universally prevalent, he did not know but the people, in despair, might become their own avengers, and take the redress of grievances into their own hands. In fine, he accused the ministry, though not in express terms, yet by direct implication, of having formed a conspiracy against the liberties of the country. The amendment was negatived.

Address in
the House of
Commons.

In the House of Commons the address was no less strenuously opposed, and an amendment was moved by Mr. Dowdeswell, "that the House would take into consideration the causes of the unhappy discontents which prevailed in every part of His Majesty's dominions."

The debate on this motion lasted twelve hours, but the details are not preserved. The mention of horned cattle in so prominent a manner, occasioned considerable ridicule; and it was represented as a great imprudence to hold out to the rest of Europe the idea, that this country was too much distressed to engage in war. The conduct of the ministry with respect to America was reprobated in every particular. Colonel Barré observed, that many were alienated from His Majesty; the ministry had contrived to sow discontent in almost every part of the King's dominions; England in opposition to its own

representatives; in Ireland, the parliament prorogued for supporting the true constitutional right of taxation; the colonies in actual rebellion, for a tax, which the ministry confessed, was not intended to bring in money, but only as a test of obedience; and, perhaps, to crown the whole, France on the eve of a war with us. The Marquis of Granby too was dissatisfied with the vote he had given on the Middlesex election; and wished the House would re-examine their resolution.

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

The ministry exposed and descanted on the means which had been used to obtain signatures to petitions and remonstrances; which the opposition members, far from denying, avowed with pride. Lord North said, he would never consent to annul the resolutions of the House, in respect to the Middlesex election, and Sir Fletcher Norton averred they could not alter their former resolutions, but by an act of the legislature.

The amendment was rejected by a considerable majority. " But carried.

On reporting the address, another debate arose, in consequence of an objection made by Sir William Meredith, that to thank the King for his approbation of the conduct of the House, would imply an approval of the decision respecting the Middlesex election. Sir George Savile accused the House of having betrayed the rights of the people. He was called to order; and General Conway, in reproof of his intemperance, observed, it was an insult to parliament, and members had been sent to the Tower for such words. Sir George Savile was defended by Serjeant Glynn; Mr. Burke spoke on the same side, and conscious of the popularity of the cause, challenged the ministry to punish Sir George, if he was a delinquent. He said, the people abhorred the present ministry, and asked the speaker if the chair did not tremble under him. Sir George Savile osten-

10th Jan.
Second
debate,

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

tationously repeated the offensive words ; which occasioned Mr. Fox to observe, that from the licentious language of some gentlemen, on that and the preceding day, it seemed as if the old decent freedom of debate was at an end, and they were endeavouring to establish new forms. The expression in the address did not allude to any particular measure of parliament, nor to every measure, as no one could suppose His Majesty approved of every resolution adopted by the House, but only of the general tenor of their actions. Mr. Burke replied with a sneer, it signified little what the House meant, but how the people would estimate their conduct ; he was, however, glad to hear that nothing was meant by the address. There was no division. ^a

Strength of
opposition.

The strength displayed by the opposition, and the popular ground on which they stood, were sufficient indications that great efforts had been used during the recess, to unite the several parties into one consistent uniform body. The resignation of Lord Chat-ham, and his opportune recovery of health and faculties, affording him the means of again taking the lead of an active party, and of reviving his declining popularity. The reconciliation between him and Lord Temple united Mr. Grenville and his friends in their interests ; a combination was speedily formed between them and the Rockingham party, which included many of the first characters for talents and respectability in both Houses. A division was also effected among the ministry ; for besides Lord Camden, whose conduct in the upper House was so remarkable, Mr. Dunning, solicitor-general, and the Marquis of Granby, commander in chief of the forces, divided with the minority in the House of Commons.

Conduct of
Lord Cam-
den.

From Lord Camden's intemperate manner of declaring his opposition, it could not be expected that

^b This debate is entitled to notice, ■ containing the first recorded parliamentary essay of the Honourable Charles James Fox.

he should retain his situation of chancellor; in fact his dismissal was anticipated, and every effort used to embarrass the government, and render it impossible to find a successor. On the day the address was debated in the House of Lords, the Marquis of Rockingham moved that they should be summoned on the morrow, as he wished to make a proposal of great national importance: but Lord Pomfret moved an adjournment for a week, a delay which was received with great indignation by the minority. Lord Temple said, the House knew for what purpose the adjournment was required; it was to settle the disordered state of the administration, which was shattered in a most miserable manner, and in all likelihood, would soon fall to pieces; and particularly to dismiss the virtuous and independent Lord who sat on the woolsack, and supply his place with some obsequious lawyer who would do as he was commanded. Lord Shelburne also observed, that after the dismissal of the present worthy chancellor, the great seal would go a-begging; but he hoped there would not be found in the kingdom, a wretch sufficiently base and mean-spirited to accept of it on such conditions as would gratify the ministry.

His dis-
mission.

The seal was taken from Lord Camden, and offered to Mr. Yorke, who had twice filled the office of attorney-general with the greatest reputation for talents and integrity. The unsettled state of parties, and the gloomy complexion of affairs, naturally occasioned him to feel considerable reluctance at undertaking the high office to which he was called, at that particular time. Nothing probably could have overcome his repugnance, but the earnest manner in which his acceptance of the great seal was pressed upon him, by the King himself, as most essential to his service. Thus urged, Mr. Yorke determined to obey the commands of his Sovereign, without reversionary conditions or stipulations. He was immediately raised to the peerage by the

17th Jan.
Mr. Yorke
appointed
lord-chan-
cellor.

C H A P.
XVII.

1770.
His death
20th Jan.
And cha-
racter.

title of Baron Morden, of Morden in Cambridge-shire, an honor he did not live to possess, as the patent was not completed before his death, which occurred three days after he had received the great seal.

Mr. Charles Yorke, second son of Philip, first Earl of Hardwicke, was born in 1723. He had studied the laws and constitution of his country, and their application to the science of politics in the best school of the age; he was no less eminent at the bar than in the estimation of the most enlightened statesmen. His extensive literary acquirements, his great abilities, and the integrity of his character, were well known and universally respected. He was appointed solicitor-general in 1756, and while he held the important office of attorney-general, was deservedly high in the confidence of the administration, and of his country. His probable elevation to the dignity of chancellor had been long contemplated with hope and expectation by the public, and consequently his death was considered highly prejudicial to the interests of the nation, as, had he lived, a more firm and comprehensive system of administration might have been formed, and more conciliatory measures adopted toward the American colonies.

Great seal
put in com-
mission.
22d.

After the death of Mr. Yorke, the great seal was offered to Sir Eardley Wilmot, and to Lord Mansfield, but both declining, it was put in commission, and Lord Mansfield was appointed speaker of the House of Lords still there should be another chancellor.

Resigna-
tions.

The removal of Lord Camden was followed by several resignations; the Marquis of Granby gave up all his places except the regiment of Blues; the Duke of Beaufort vacated his situation of master of horse to the Queen; the Duke of Manchester and the Earl of Coventry renounced their posts as lords of bedchamber; the Earl of Huntingdon his place of groom of the stole; and Mr. James Grenville his office of one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland. Mr. Dunning, the solicitor-general, also resigned.

C H A P.
XVII.

1770.

3d.
State of the
nation de-
bated in the
Lords.Marquis of
Rocking-
ham.

During these transactions, the sittings of the Lords were suspended by adjournment, and no business of importance took place in the Lower House, owing to the indisposition of the speaker. The Marquis of Rockingham had given notice of his intention to move for a day, for considering the state of the nation, and, after the adjournment, made his motion. The present unhappy condition of affairs, and universal discontent of the people, he said, did not arise from an immediate temporary cause, but had grown by degrees from the moment of His Majesty's accession. The persons in whom the King then confided had introduced a total change in the old system, and adopted a maxim which must prove fatal to the liberties of the country, namely, that the royal prerogative alone was sufficient to support government, to whatever hands it might be committed: and the Marquis, reviewing the acts of ministers from the beginning of the reign, ascribed them all to the prevalence of that principle. Having expressed his disapprobation of many early transactions, he came to those of the last preceding years: spoke with great severity of the manner in which the civil-list arrears had been paid; censured the grant of Inglewood forest, which he asserted was made merely for the sake of carrying the prerogative to its utmost extent; condemned the indecent hurry and precipitation with which that affair had been concluded, to prevent the Duke of Portland from vindicating his title; and accused the ministry of resisting the introduction of the Nullum Tempus Bill.

The external affairs of the empire, the Marquis averred, had been conducted with the same want of wisdom, and brought into nearly the same condition, with those at home. In Ireland, the parliament was prorogued, which probably led to a dissolution, and the affairs of the kingdom left unprovided for, and in confusion. He equally disapproved the proceedings with respect to America, which he maintained were

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

conducted on no fixed principle. The King's speeches and the language of ministry, had denounced nothing but war and vengeance against a rebellious people; whilst the governors abroad were instructed to convey the gentlest promises of relief and satisfaction.

The Marquis, after condemning the supineness of ministry, in permitting France to obtain so valuable a dominion as Corsica, said, he avoided dwelling so strongly as he might on the great invasion of the constitution, which had thrown the whole country into a flame. "When the constitution is violated," he said, "we should not content ourselves with repairing the single breach, but look back into causes, and trace principles, in order, not merely to restore the constitution to present health, but render it, if possible, invulnerable hereafter." Upon the whole, he strongly recommended the appointment of an early day for investigating the state of the country in all its relations and dependencies, foreign, provincial, and domestic. In consequence of that consideration the House would, he hoped, indicate to the crown, the means not only of correcting past errors, but of establishing a system of government more wise, more permanent, better suited to the genius of the people, and, at least, consistent with the spirit of the constitution.

Duke of
Grafton.

The Duke of Grafton said, he had no intention to oppose the motion; on the contrary, he engaged to second it, and meet the great question whenever the House should think proper. For the present, he only meant to exculpate himself from reflections which seemed to apply particularly and personally to him. He vindicated the resumption of the supposed grant of crown lands, which had been most unfairly represented, and asserted, that if the Duke of Portland, instead of being an opponent, had been the warmest friend of administration, the treasury-board could not have adopted a different mode of conduct, without a flagrant violation of justice. As to the civil list, he asserted the persons to whose offices it be-

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

longed, had been constantly employed in drawing up a state of that account, and had received every possible light and information from the officers of the crown, in order to shorten and facilitate the business, which was of infinite labour and extent; and, notwithstanding the utmost diligence, could not yet be completed. With respect to foreign affairs, the conduct of ministry would, on the strictest examination, be found irreproachable. He thought the terms of peace not so good as the nation had a right to expect, but he would never advise the King to engage in another war, as long as the dignity of the crown, and the real interests of the nation, could be preserved without it. We had already suffered sufficiently by foreign connexions to warn us against engaging lightly in quarrels, in which we had no immediate concern, and to which we might probably sacrifice our own most essential interests.

Lord Chatham followed the Duke of Grafton; he meant to have risen immediately to second the Marquis of Rockingham's motion, but agreed that the charge which the Duke seemed to think affected him, demanded an immediate answer. The constitution, he said, was violated; and until that wound was healed, and the grievance redressed, it was in vain to recommend union to parliament, in vain to recommend concord among the people. "If we mean seriously to unite the nation within itself, we must convince them that their complaints are regarded, and that their injuries shall be redressed. On that foundation I would take the lead in recommending peace and harmony to the people: on any other, I would never wish to see them united again. If the breach in the constitution be effectually repaired, the people will of themselves return to a state of tranquillity; if not, may discord prevail for ever! If the King's servants will not permit a constitutional question to be decided according to the forms, and on the principles of the constitution, it must then be de-

Lord
Chatham.

C H A P.
XVII.

1770.

cided in some other manner; and rather than it should be given up, rather than the nation should surrender their birth-right to a despotic minister, I hope, old as I am, to see the question brought to issue, and fairly tried between the people and the government."

He dissented from the principle, that nothing less than an immediate attack on the honour or interest of the nation, could authorize an interposition in defence of weaker states, and in stopping the enterprizes of an ambitious neighbour. By the acquisition of Corsica, he said, France had obtained more in one pacific campaign, than in all her belligerent campaigns, at least while he had the honour of administering war against her; and he expressed his fears that it was too much the temper of this nation to be insensible of danger, till it approached with accumulated terror.

He condemned the promise made by the lord-lieutenant, to maintain a certain number of troops in Ireland; it was encroaching on the royal prerogative; and he remembered when Minorca was lost for want of four battalions, in consequence of the delicacy which ministers felt in taking them from Ireland. With respect to the arrears of the civil list, Lord Chatham said, the Duke had given a number of plausible reasons why the account was not yet furnished, but no reason to hope it ever would be laid before the House.

The waste of public money was not of so much importance, as the pernicious purpose to which some portion of it had been applied. The riches of Asia had poured in upon us, and with them, he feared, not only Asiatic luxury, but Asiatic principles of government. "Without connexions, without natural interest in the soil, the importers of foreign gold have forced their way into parliament, by such a torrent of private corruption as no private hereditary fortune can resist. The truth of my allegations is within the knowledge of the whole House; the

corruption of the people is the great original cause of the discontents of the people themselves, of the enterprize of the crown, and the notorious decay of the internal vigour of the constitution." Pursuing this subject, his Lordship offered some suggestions on the propriety of a reform in parliament. He considered the boroughs as the rotten part of the constitution; but, like the infirmities of the natural body, they must be borne with patience: the limb was mortified, but amputation might be death. To infuse new vigour, it would be necessary to augment the county and city representatives, and extend the regulation to Scotland, to prevent the jealousy which might arise from an apparent violation of the act of union.

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

Having expatiated on this topic at much length, he mentioned with great satisfaction his cordial union with the Marquis of Rockingham, and wished that an early day might be fixed for considering the state of the nation. "My infirmities," he said, "must, indeed, fall heavily upon me, if I do not then attend my duty. When I consider my age and unhappy state of health, I feel how little I am personally interested in the event of any political question: but I look forward to others, and am determined, as far as my poor ability extends, to convey to those who come after me, the blessing which I cannot long hope to enjoy."

The discussion was fixed for the second of February, but before that day the Duke of Grafton resigned his situation of first lord of the treasury; Lord North was appointed his successor, and measures were taken to fill up the vacancies occasioned by other resignations.

28th Jan.
Change of
ministry.

Sir John Cust's state of health having induced him to resign the chair of the House of Commons^c, Sir Fletcher Norton was called to that dignity; Lord

22d.

^c Sir John Cust died on the day his successor was elected.

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

29th Jan. to
13th Feb.

19th March.

Debate in
the House of
Commons on
the state of
the nation.

25th Jan.

21st Jan.
Subsequent
motion of
Mr. Dow-
deswell.

Halifax was appointed lord privy-seal, in lieu of the Earl of Bristol, who became groom of the stole; Welbore Ellis was made one of the vice-treasurers of Ireland, instead of James Grenville; Charles Fox was appointed a lord of the admiralty; and after some time, Mr. Thurlow was made solicitor-general, instead of Mr. Dunning; who, notwithstanding his resignation, had held the office till a successor should be nominated.

The principal object of the late debates in the House of Lords, was to procure a decision favourable to the right of Mr. Wilkes to sit in parliament as member for Middlesex. The same view influenced the opposition in the House of Commons, where a committee on the state of the nation was also formed, and a motion made by Mr. Dowdeswell, "That in judging of elections, the House ought to be regulated by the law of the land, and the known and established law and custom of parliament, which made a part thereof." This evident proposition being announced as a prelude to a series which would tend to redress the mischiefs of the Middlesex election, the ministry were reduced to an unpleasant dilemma. If they agreed to the motion, but rejected those by which it was followed, they would seem to relinquish the conclusions drawn from premises which they had conceded: if, on the other hand, they overruled the motion, it would appear that the House of Commons, not acknowledging themselves bound by law and the usage of parliament, formed a court of judicature guided only by caprice. Lord North dexterously avoided the snare, by moving as an amendment, "And that the judgment of the House on the Middlesex election is conformable to law, and the usage of parliament." After a strenuous debate, the amendment was carried.^d

The question proposed by Mr. Dowdeswell, not having been rejected, he moved another resolution,

founded on it: "That by the law of the land, and the law and usage of parliament, no person eligible of common right, can be incapacitated by a resolution of the House, but by an act of parliament only."

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

In the course of this debate, Colonel Barré, alluding to the power recently acquired by Lord North, compared the state to a vessel tossed in a stormy sea, which had just parted her main-mast (the Duke of Grafton) and scudded under a jury-mast (Lord North); they now, he said, hung out signals for pilots from the other side of the house, but none would assist them till the old men and crew had quitted the ship. In reply, Lord North acknowledged that storms had almost overpowered the vessel; but they came from the other side of the house, and those alone who raised, knew how to lay them; yet the ship was not in such distress as to hang out signals for pilots, those on board being very capable of conducting her into port. He moved that the chairman should leave the chair; which was carried.

On the appointed day, the Marquis of Rockingham made his motion in the committee on the state of the nation, in nearly the same words as those used by Mr. Dowdeswell.

2d Feb.
Marquis of
Rockingham's
motion.

The proposition was combated in a long and able speech by Lord Sandwich, who expressed surprise that the question should ever have been entertained, as it related only to a privilege of the Commons. He quoted cases of the expulsion of the Earl of Middlesex, and of Lord Bacon, in which instances no alarm was created by the other branches of the legislature; they stood silent and undisturbed, knowing their interference to be improper and unnecessary. Adverting to the supposed prevalence of alarm, Lord Sandwich, though he had the highest opinion of the Marquis's veracity in other respects, thought him mistaken in the assertions substantiating that fact: "I have been at some pains," he said, "to examine accurately and impartially, into the real circumstances

Speech of
Lord Sandwich.

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

of the alarm ; and I have found it to be nothing more than a fiction, first set on foot by the daring and ambitious; and occasionally supported by the desperate, necessitous, and ignorant. But let us take the fact as represented : we are told that the majority of the people of England have petitioned for redress of grievances. Now the whole people of England are contained within forty counties ; of which thirteen only have petitioned. It requires no deep calculation, no abstract knowledge of numbers, to tell that thirteen is not quite one-third of forty, though it is roundly asserted, that the whole people of England have petitioned. If we will further suppose (which we may very impartially) that many who have signed petitions possess no freehold, but are led either by the general pressure of poverty, the want of an immediate meal, or the hope of better establishment ; if we will, likewise consider what a number have been intimidated into it — I say intimidated, my lords ; for we frequently find in the Gazettes menacing letters, directed to those who had firmness of mind, and good sense sufficient to be guided by their own opinions — the number even in these thirteen counties will be so lessened, as not to constitute in reality a twentieth part of His Majesty's subjects. Let us then, my lords, be superior to these false alarms — the feeble echoes of despondent ambition. Let us act like the real guardians of the nation ; steady in supporting the privileges of the people, but not too forward to appear when no real danger presses." He concluded by observing, that if the House of Commons were aggrieved by the intrusion of Colonel Luttrell, the means of redress were in their own power.

Lord Chat-
ham.

Lord Chatham averred that the cases cited were inapplicable, as by the expulsion of Lord Bacon and Lord Middlesex, no franchise was invaded, no freeholder deprived of his right. He attempted to obviate the deductions drawn from Lord Sandwich's calculations, by observing that many who individually felt all the rigour of parliamentary proceedings, were unable, for

want of a few principals, to convene them to make their complaints reach the Royal ear. Great interest had been made by government to suppress all petitions, and if to those efforts were added the influence of placemen, it would be surprising that out of forty counties, thirteen had spirit and independence sufficient to stem the tide of venality. Lord Chatham then declaimed against the conduct of the House of Commons; denominated the vote which made Colonel Luttrell representative of Middlesex, a gross invasion of the rights of election, a dangerous violation of the English constitution, a treacherous surrender of the invaluable privilege of a freehold, and a corrupt sacrifice of their own honour. That House had stripped the statute book of its brightest ornaments, to gild the wings, not of prerogative, but of unprincipled faction, and lawless domination. To gratify the resentments of some individuals, the laws had been despised, trampled on, and destroyed; those laws which had been made by the stern virtue of their ancestors, the iron barons of old, to whom the nation was indebted for all the blessings of the constitution; to whose virtue and whose blood, to whose spirit in the hour of contest, and to whose tenderness in the triumph of victory, the silken barons of this day owed their honours and their seats, and both Houses of Parliament their continuance. These measures made a part of that unhappy system, which had been formed in the present reign, with a view to remodel the constitution, as well as the government. They originated, he would not say, with His Majesty's knowledge, but in His Majesty's councils. The Commons had slavishly obeyed the commands of His Majesty's servants, and thereby proved, to the conviction of every man, what before might have been only a matter of suspicion, that ministers held a corrupt influence in Parliament; it was demonstrable, it was indisputable. It was therefore particularly necessary for the Lords, at this critical and alarming period, so

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

full of jealousy and apprehension, to step forward, and oppose themselves, on the one hand, to the justly incensed, and perhaps speedily intemperate rage of the people; and on the other, to the criminal and malignant conduct of His Majesty's ministers; that they might prevent licentiousness on the one side, and depredation on the other. Their lordships were the constitutional barrier between the extremes of liberty and prerogative.

Inquiry
terminated.

At midnight, a motion for the speaker to resume the chair, in order to put an end to the discussion in the committee, was carried by a majority of more than two to one.^c

Motion of
the Earl of
Marchmont.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the hour, the Earl of Marchmont moved "That any resolution of the Lords, directly or indirectly impeaching a judgment of the House of Commons, in a matter where their jurisdiction is competent, final and conclusive, would be a violation of the constitutional right of the Commons, tending to make a breach between the two Houses of Parliament, and leading to general confusion."

Observ-
ations of
Lords
Mansfield
and Egmont.

This motion was supported by Lord Mansfield, in a speech of considerable length; and by Lord Egmont, who declared the people had no right to present such petitions as had lately been laid before the King, for they were treasonable.

Lord
Chatham.

Lord Chatham, after ironically thanking the noble Lord for permitting the petitioners to retain their heads a day longer, asserted that the petitions were laudable and constitutional, and the right to present them undoubted. The House of Lords had a jurisdiction, and ought to interfere in case of an invasion of the people's liberties, or an unconstitutional determination of the House of Commons; the case of the county of Middlesex fell under both those denominations. He conjured their lordships,

by the noble struggles of their ancestors in behalf of liberty, not to behold with indifference a transaction so alarming. In conclusion, he complained strongly of the motion being sudden, and made at midnight, and pressed an adjournment for only two days. "If the constitution," he said, "must be wounded, let it not receive its mortal stab at this dark and midnight hour."

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

In the course of the debate a personal altercation arose between Lord Sandwich and Lord Camden, which throws considerable light on the conduct of the ex-chancellor while in office. Lord Sandwich accused him of duplicity, in permitting the proceedings against Mr. Wilkes to take place without remonstrance, and of having refused to give an opinion respecting them. Lord Camden asserted, upon his honour, that long before Mr. Wilkes's expulsion, and also before the vote of incapacity, he informed the Duke of Grafton that he thought it both illegal and imprudent; he had always entertained, and frequently delivered that opinion. The Duke of Grafton admitted Lord Camden had, once before the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes, intimated but not in express terms, that he thought the measure impolitic, or ill-timed; but that he had never given his opinion on the vote of incapacity: on the contrary, whenever that subject was agitated in the cabinet, he remained silent or retired; thus refusing or declining to deliver his sentiments. This assertion was corroborated by Lord Weymouth, who adverted expressly to one particular occasion, when Lord Camden had withdrawn his advice and assistance from the council on the mere mention of expulsion and incapacity. The law-lord, although contradicted by the first witness he referred to, persevered in asserting that he had repeatedly given his opinions on the inexpediency of the measures, but finding them rejected and despised, absented himself from the cabinet, where his presence would only distract mea-

Altercation
respecting
the official
conduct of
Lord Cam-
den.

C H A P. sures already resolved on, and which his single voice
XVII. could not prevent.^f

1770.
He is de-
fended by
Lord Chat-
ham.

Lord Chatham also averred, that in conversation with him, Lord Camden had declared his opinion on those subjects, and supported it by cogent reasons. The House, tired of this futile conversation, at two o'clock called for the question; which was carried in the affirmative. Protests were entered against both the decisions, the first signed by forty-two, the last by forty peers.^g

Bill respect-
ing expul-
sion.
5th Feb.
to 1st May.

The efforts of opposition on the popular topic of Wilkes's expulsion did not yet terminate. A motion was made for leave to bring in a bill, to regulate the consequences of expulsion from the house; it was read a first time, and afterward frequently discussed in a committee: but at length Mr. Herbert, the member with whom it originated, withdrew it from further notice.

Withdrawn.

Turbulence
of the city.

The members in opposition were encouraged and supported in their exertions by a corresponding turbulence which was generally prevalent in the city of London, particularly among the lower class. A statement of their proceedings becomes necessary for the perfect understanding of the subsequent transactions in parliament. A memorial signed by six liverymen, was laid before the common-council, complaining that the petition presented to the King the preceding year, had not been answered, and requesting the convention of a common-hall, for the purpose of taking proper measures for the re-establishment and secu-

1st March.
Proceedings
of the com-
mon-coun-
cil.

^f This discussion gave birth to a similar one in the House of Commons, in which it was insisted that the expulsion of Mr. Wilkes had been debated and determined in the council; and that the measure was therefore a mandate to the Lower House, which was implicitly obeyed. Debates, February 5th.

■ These protests were printed in a newspaper. Lord Gower, on the 7th of February, complained of ■ breach of privilege, and the printer was ordered to attend the House, but absconded. Lord Sandwich thereupon moved (10th February) for an order to take him into custody of the usher of the black rod. The motion was carried, although opposed by the Duke of Richmond and Lord Temple. The printer either fled or kept himself concealed. — Debre'tt's Debates, vol. v. p. 171.

rity of their ancient rights and franchises. This memorial occasioned great debates in the common-council: it was supported by the lord mayor and sheriffs, and opposed by all the rest of the aldermen; but such was the prevalence of the sentiments by which it was dictated, among the lower order of members, that the motion for calling a common-hall, to address a remonstrance to His Majesty, was carried by a considerable majority.^b

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

The common-hall was attended by nearly three thousand of the livery. The lord mayor spoke in the popular style, of the violated freedom of election; of little, paltry, rotten boroughs; of the number of placemen and pensioners; and of the more equal representation of the people. A prepared remonstrance was then produced, analogous in its contents to the lord mayor's speech, and proffered for signatures. It stated, that, under a secret malign influence, which through each successive administration had defeated every good, and suggested every bad intention, the majority of the House of Commons had deprived the people of their dearest rights. "They have done a deed," it proceeded, "more ruinous in its consequences than the levying of ship-money by Charles the First, or the dispensing power assumed by James the Second. A deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament; for the acts of the legislature itself can be no more valid without a legal House of Commons, than without a legal Prince on the throne. Representatives of the people are essential to the making of laws; and there is a time when it is morally demonstrable, that men cease to be representatives. That time is now arrived. The House of Commons do not represent the people. We owe to Your Majesty an obedience, under the restriction of the laws, for the calling and duration of parliaments; and Your Majesty owes to

6th.
In the common-hall.

Remonstrance to the King.

^b 3 aldermen and 109 commoners, against 15 aldermen and 61 commoners.

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

us, that our representation, free from the force of arms or corruption, should be preserved to us in them. Had the parliament under James H." the remonstrance continued, "been as submissive to his commands, as it is at this day to the dictates of a minister, instead of clamours for its meeting, the nation would have rung as now with outcries for its dissolution. The forms of the constitution, like those of religion, were not established for the form's sake, but for the substance. And we call God and man to witness, that as we do not owe our liberty to those nice and subtle distinctions, which places and pensions, and lucrative employments have invented; so neither will we be cheated of it by them: but as it was gained by the stern virtue of our ancestors, by the virtue of their descendants it shall be preserved." After other observations of the same kind, it concluded with praying for a dissolution of parliament, and the removal of the King's evil ministers from his councils for ever.

Delivered to
the King on
the throne
14th Mar.

This arrogant paper was received by the livery with transports and shouts of applause, and ordered to be delivered to the King on the throne. As it was intitled an Address, Remonstrance, and Petition, some difficulties arose at St. James's respecting the mode in which it should be presented; but at length the King granted the required audience. The lord mayor, and a train of common-councilmen, liverymen, and city officers, amounting to upward of two hundred, were introduced: the common serjeant began to read the address, but abashed and terrified in his progress by a due consideration of the insolence of its contents, was unable to proceed; the town clerk laboured under no such difficulties, he took the paper and read it to an end. The King's answer was discreet, and spirited: he said, "I shall always be ready to receive the requests, and listen to the complaints of my subjects; but it gives me great concern to find that any of them should have been so far misled as to offer

His answer.

me an address and remonstrance, the contents of which I cannot but consider as disrespectful to me, injurious to my parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution. I have ever made the law of the land the rule of my conduct, esteeming it my chief glory to reign over a free people: with this view I have always been careful, as well to execute faithfully the trust reposed in me, as to avoid even the appearance of invading any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. It is only by persevering in such a conduct, that I can either discharge my own duty, or secure to my subjects the free enjoyment of those rights which my family were called to defend; and while I act upon these principles, I have a right to expect, and am confident I shall continue to receive, the steady and affectionate support of my people."

CHAP.
XVII.
1770.

The proceedings of the city did not pass without animadversion in parliament. The day after the presentation of the remonstrance, a motion was made in the House of Commons for an address to the King requesting a copy of that paper, and the answer. The lord mayor, the sheriffs Townshend and Sawbridge, and Alderman Trecothick, being members of parliament, avowed the share they had taken in the transaction, and declared themselves ready to abide the consequences. The address was principally resisted on the ground of inexpediency, and the arguments on this head were ably and ingeniously urged by the Marquis of Granby, Mr. Burke, Mr. Wedderburne, and Mr. George Grenville. They were answered by General Conway, who averred that the dignity of parliament required interference at all events: the right of the people to petition was undoubted, yet if such petition contained treason, or other high offence, it certainly was punishable; and if not punishable in the common courts, yet in parliament indisputably it was. The motion

Proceedings
in parliament.
15th.

C H A P.
XVII.

1770.
19th Mar.
The House
of Commons
express dis-
approbation
of the re-
monstrance;
and jointly
with the
lords address
the King.

being carriedⁱ, the papers were laid before the house, and Sir Thomas Clavering moved, "that to deny the legality of the present parliament, or to assert their acts to be invalid, was unwarrantable, tending to destroy the allegiance of the subject, by withdrawing him from obedience to the laws." A long and animated debate ensued, and at three o'clock in the morning the House, on a division, decided in the affirmative^k. An address was afterward carried, agreed to by the lords on a conference, and presented to the King, who returned a most gracious answer.

Remon-
strance of
Westmin-
ster, 28th.
And Middle-
sex, 31st.

These proceedings were far from diminishing the ardour for persecuting the sovereign with petitions. The inhabitants of Westminster presented, under the same title, an address similar to that of the city of London; and their example was followed by the county of Middlesex, on the recommendation of the Reverend John Horne, who had already distinguished himself on the popular side in the questions relative to the controverted election, and on other occasions.

12th April.
Wilkes
discharged,
18th.

The term of Mr. Wilkes's confinement being now expired, and his fines paid out of the public subscription, he was discharged, on giving the required security. He published an address to the freeholders of Middlesex, accusing the ministers of persecution and injustice: and declaring his readiness to die in the cause of liberty.

1st May.
Lord Chat-
ham's bill
for reversing
the adjudica-
tion of the
Commons
respecting
Wilkes.

On the day that terminated the existence of Mr. Herbert's bill, Lord Chatham brought in one for reversing the adjudication of the House of Commons in the case of John Wilkes. The motion for a second reading was strongly supported by Lord Temple, Lord Lyttleton, and the Duke of Richmond. Lord Chatham stated the fact of 1143 freeholders having voted for Wilkes, and only 296 for Colonel Luttrell; derided the new kind of state

ⁱ 271 to 108.

^k 284 to 127.

arithmetic, which made the smaller exceed the greater number, and said it was flying in the face of all law and freedom, robbing the freeholders of their liberty, and making a mere farce of the birth-rights of Englishmen. "I am afraid," he concluded, "this measure has originated too near the palace: I am sorry; but I hope His Majesty will soon open his eyes, and see it in all its deformity."

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

Lord Pomfret called to order; but Lord Chat-ham refused to retract; he esteemed the King in his personal, and revered him in his political capacity; but hoped he would redress the existing grievances by dissolving the House of Commons.

Lord Mansfield cited many cases where persons had been expelled the Lower House, without any attempt to interfere by the lords. He decried the argument drawn from the numbers on the poll, as a gross mistake. Mr. Wilkes, he said, was considered as no body in the eye of the law, and consequently Colonel Luttrell had no opponent. In all contested elections, the party complaining of illegal proceedings does not apply for redress to the electors, or to the people at large, but to the House of Commons, who are the only judges, and from whose determination there is no appeal. The freeholder is merely to determine on his object, by giving his vote; the ultimate power lies with the House of Commons, which judges of his being a legal representative in the several branches of his qualifications. The people were already sufficiently violent, but if the superior branch of the legislature should join them, the public encouragement of their proceedings would occasion such a scene of anarchy and confusion, that he almost trembled at the thought.

Opposed
by Lord
Mansfield.

Lord Camden declared he had reserved himself till that period, but would reply to Lord Mansfield, whose opinions were pregnant with unconstitutional doctrines. He combated the arguments drawn from

Supported
by Lord
Camden.

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

Mr. Wilkes's incapacity, asserting that the House, by refusing to receive him as a member, acted in an arbitrary dictatorial manner, in defiance of law and precedent, against reason and justice : a secret influence had said the word, " Mr. Wilkes shall not sit ;" and the fiat was to be obeyed, though it tore up the heartstrings of the constitution. Having complimented Lord Mansfield on his expertness in referring to cases ; he said, the question should be taken upon a more broad and general bottom, not as candidate against candidate, not as Mr. Wilkes opposed to Colonel Luttrell ; but as the electors at large against the assumed power of the House of Commons. In the case of ship-money, the people justly joined in the cry, and it ceased to be a question between Mr. Hampden and the King, but the people of England against venal and oppressive ministers. Repeating the words of Lord Chatham, he proceeded, " I will join my feeble efforts to the voice of the people ; and the louder I hear them cry, the more I shall be pleased." The judgment on the Middlesex election had inflicted a more dangerous wound on the constitution, than any which were given during the twelve years absence of parliament in the reign of Charles I. Should this bill be rejected, he trusted in the good sense and spirit of the people, to renew their claims to a true and free representation in parliament, as an inherent and inalienable right ; and if, session after session, the same fatal influence should continue, Englishmen would not forget this bill at the next general election ; but make such a compact with the elected, as to procure an equal representation, and a full redress of the many difficulties under which they laboured.

Rejected.

Protest.

On the rejection of the bill¹, a short protest was signed by thirty-three peers ; and Lord Chatham required that the house might be summoned for

¹ 59 against 43.

the fourth, on a motion of great importance relative to the King. C H A P.
XVII.

This request being complied with, his Lordship moved a resolution on the answer to the remonstrance of the city of London; affirming, that the advice by which the King had acted was of a most dangerous tendency, inasmuch as the clearest rights of the subject had been indiscriminately checked with reprimand; and the afflicted citizens had heard from the throne itself, that the contents of their humble address, remonstrance, and petition, could not but be considered by His Majesty as disrespectful to himself, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution.

This answer, Lord Chatham said, was so harsh, that to equal it baffled his reading in the history of the country. The King's judgment or disposition would not have permitted such an answer; and poor as his opinion of the administration was, he could not suppose it to be a joint advice; if many were consulted, some one of them must have seen the absurdity. "For whoever they were, (I care not of what consequence) they were either fools or knaves: if the latter, they deserved the contempt of an injured people; if the former, they ought to have been sent to school before they were suffered to take the lead in public office." In the course of his speech Lord Chatham offered unbounded adulation to the city, and said that Colonel Luttrell was no representative of the people, but a nominee, thrust in by foes to the laws of the land, and the established principles of the constitution.

Lord Pomfret, in a short answer observed, that the House had, of late, been almost entirely occupied by a popular nobleman on a popular topic, to the great hindrance of other business; but the Lords could not be expected, in the short space of six weeks, intirely to change their opinions; to

Opposed
by Lord
Pomfret.

CHAP.

XVII.

1770.

condemn a measure they had then approved, and on which they had, in an address to the King, applauded the propriety of his answer.

It was the principal aim of the motion to extract from the ministry some defence or explanation, which might afford means of inflaming the discontents of the city; but in defiance of much abuse and personality, they maintained a prudent silence, and the question was lost.

14th.

His motion
for a disso-
lution of
parliament.

Lord Chatham, not deterred by ill success, moved for an address to dissolve the parliament. The House, apprized of the object of these motions, destroyed the intended effect, by prohibiting the admission of any persons but members of the House of Commons, and sons of peers. The debates are not recorded, but the question was negatived.

Mr. Dow-
deswell's
motion to
disqualify
revenue
officers.
12th Feb.

Several attempts were made in this session to alter the laws respecting parliament, and the members of both houses. Mr. Dowdeswell, in a committee on the state of the nation, moved to bring in a bill disqualifying certain officers of the excise and customs from voting at elections. The proposition was chiefly supported by statements of the increased number of revenue officers, and the danger accruing to liberty from their suffrages and influence. On the other side, it was observed, that as the principal officers were already disqualified from sitting, and all persons in the excise, customs, or post-office, under severe penalties, enjoined from intermeddling, by persuasion or dissuasion, in the election of representatives, the proposed bill was unnecessary, and it would be an act of cruelty to deprive so many people of their franchise. The motion was lost.^m

Law for
annulling
the protec-
tion.

An act passed for altering the law relating to privilege, so far as it extended to the effects and domestics of members of either house. Bills of this nature

had been frequently brought into parliament, but were always considered as mere attempts to engage temporary popularity by affected self-denial, and therefore rejected. When the present bill had passed the Commons, and was brought into the House of Peers, it was warmly opposed by Lords Sandwich and Marchmont; but defended with great vigour by Lord Mansfield, who made a most able speech. He demonstrated from the best principles, that the privilege was not so valuable as was supposed, and from his experience in the court where he presided, deprecated the rejection of a measure calculated to relieve the practice of the law from many impediments and embarrassments. Being accused of patronizing the bill for the sake of obtaining popularity, he made this animated answer: "If the noble Lord means by popularity the applause bestowed by after-ages on good and virtuous actions, I have long been struggling in that race; to what purpose all-trying time can alone determine: but if he means that mushroom popularity which is raised without merit, and lost without a crime, he is much mistaken. I defy the noble lord to point out a single action in my life, where the popularity of the times ever had the smallest influence on my determinations. I thank God, I have a more permanent and steady rule for my conduct—the dictates of my own breast. Those who have foregone that pleasing adviser, and given up their minds to the slavery of every popular impulse, I sincerely pity: I pity them still more, if vanity leads them to mistake the shouts of a mob for the trumpet of fame. Experience might inform them, that many who have been saluted with the huzzas of a crowd one day, have received their execrations the next: and many, who by the popularity of their times have been held up as spotless patriots, have, nevertheless, appeared on the historian's page, when truth has triumphed over delusion, the assassins of liberty. Why then can the noble Lord think I am ambitious

C H A P.
XVII.

1770.
Granted by
peers to
their ser-
vants.

Excellent
speech of
Lord Mans-
field.

C H A P.
XVII.

1770.
Mr. Grenville's bill for deciding petitions on controverted elections.

of present popularity, that echo of folly, and shadow of renown?" The bill passed.

Another measure of still greater importance was Mr. George Grenville's bill for regulating the proceedings of the House of Commons on controverted elections. Since the famous Aylesbury case, in 1704, the House of Commons was considered as sole judge of the qualifications of electors, and all other matters relating to the return of membersⁿ. However well founded the claim, the practice was attended with many inconveniences. At first, the contested cases had been tried in a select committee, consisting of some of the most learned members; but afterward the practice prevailed of hearing the petitioners by counsel at the bar. Petitions were frequently so numerous, as materially to impede public business; and substantial justice was seldom obtained. As the judges were not bound by an oath, or even promise upon honour, to resist the impulse of partiality, their suffrages were often biassed by party, or personal considerations. To remedy these evils, Mr. Grenville's bill provided that every case of contested election should be referred to a committee of thirteen members, chosen by the sitting member and the petitioner, from a list of forty-nine, the result of a ballot. Each party was empowered to nominate one person besides those thirteen, to sit in the committee; which was authorised to send for persons, papers, and records, and bound by oath to decide impartially. Such is the outline of this celebrated law. The different clauses met with considerable opposition in the committee, and many were new modelled. On the third reading, a strenuous debate took place; the rejection of the bill was moved by Mr. Welbore Ellis, and seconded by Mr. Fox; the effort was opposed by Dunning, Burke, Wedderburne, and Sir William Baggot, and failed, although supported by Lord North and several ministerial members. In the House

21st Mar.

30th.

5th April.

ⁿ Coxe's Memoirs of Sir Robert Walpole, vol. i. chap. 4. p. 20. 4to edit.

of Lords the bill passed with little animadversion, and a panegyric from Lord Chatham °.

C H A P.
XVII.

An inquiry into the state and expenditure of the civil list was one of the popular topics urged in both Houses. Mr. Grenville moved for an account of those expences for one year, ending the fifth of January. The late King, it was said, left a saving of 170,000*l*, which came to the hands of His present Majesty; besides which, and his own revenue, he had received from parliament an aid of 513,000*l*.; the civil list expences had greatly increased in 1768, and it was inferred that the money was employed during the general election to the injury of the people.

1770.
Inquiry
into the
civil list.
28th Feb.

The motion was resisted on grounds of decency, convenience, and expediency; and rejected ^p.

Mr. Dowdeswell afterward moved for certain accounts relative to the King's debts in 1762, 1763, 1765, and 1766, and the amount of money in the exchequer at the late King's decease. The motion was opposed by Lord North; but Mr. Dowdeswell having, in the course of his speech, reflected on the Earl of Bute, Lord Mountstuart successfully requested that the accounts might be granted, to clear his father's character.

12th Mar.

In a committee on the state of the nation, Mr. Dowdeswell proposed an address, reciting the excess of expenditure, and requesting the King to retrench

2d April.

* In a publication in 1789, of "Extra official State Papers," by William Knox, Esq. late under secretary of state, vol. ii. p. 41, is the following account of part of a conversation, which the editor of that work had with Mr. Grenville, at Wootton, upon the subject of Mr. Grenville's returning into office. "He told me, that he found his health and spirits very much declined; that he had given up all thoughts of office, and did not wish to take any active part in public business. And indeed, he continued with a deep sigh, and putting his hand upon his side, I am no longer capable of serving the public. *My health and spirits are gone. The only thing I have any intention of doing, is to endeavour to give some check to the abominable prostitution of the House of Commons in Elections, by voting for whoever has the support of the minister, which must end in the ruin of public Liberty, if it be not checked.*" In pursuance of this resolution, Mr. Grenville, on the 7th of March, 1770, proposed his plan in a most able and convincing speech. The bill received the Royal assent upon the 12th of April 1770; and Mr. Grenville died on the 13th of November following; with the satisfaction of having completed one of the noblest works, for the honour of the House of Commons, and the security of the constitution, that was ever devised by any minister or statesman. Hatsell's Precedents, vol. ii. p. 21.

^p 262 to 165.

C H A P.
XVII.

1770.

his expences, and enforce on his servants the practice of economy, which would tend most to the honour and dignity of the crown, the satisfaction of his own royal mind, and the content of his people. Lord North, after shewing the impropriety, want of respect, and indecency of the address, moved that the chairman should leave the chair, and the committee (which had existed eight months without producing any good consequence) be dissolved. This motion was carried.^a

3d.

5th.

The next day, Mr. Dowdeswell ineffectually repeated his motion in the House. Sir Edward Astley also demanded a list of pensions, which occasioned a debate, but was refused.^r

16th.
In the Upper House.

Similar attempts were made in the Upper House: Lord Chatham, in moving for an inquiry into the state and expenditure of the civil list, took the opportunity of vindicating himself against the charge frequently made, of granting numerous pensions. He produced a list, and after speaking of several of the parties in terms of appropriate praise, mentioned Lord Camden, as one whose integrity had made him once more a poor and private man; he was dismissed for his vote in favour of right of election in the people. These intemperate words were taken down, but no consequences ensued. The motion was negatived.

Petition
from the
American
merchants.

The affairs of America formed a leading object of parliamentary attention, and were debated with the usual zeal and violence. A petition was presented from the merchants of London trading to that continent, describing the importance and advantages of the traffic in former times, its total suppression by combinations in consequence of the late tax-laws, and praying relief. Lord North having controverted several statements in the petition, moved for leave to bring in a bill, abrogating all the duties except those on tea. Governor Pownal, not satisfied with this

5th Mar.
Repeal of
duties, ex-
cept tea.

partial repeal, proposed, as an amendment, that it should extend to all the duties, and supported his motion by a long speech, replete with considerations of political expediency, and abstract right.

C H A P.
XVII.
1770.

The debate was conducted in an extraordinary manner, as several opinions were avowed, which did not accord either with the original motion, or the amendment. Mr. Grenville said, he had acted systematically in imposing the stamp duties, which he had reason to think could and would be paid. The succeeding ministry had also pursued a system which then perhaps was the next best, that of repealing the act, replacing America in its pristine condition, and, at the same time, preserving the power of the English Parliament, by a law declaring the right of taxation. The next ministers laid a tax diametrically repugnant to commercial principles, bringing in no money to the state (the clear annual amount being under sixteen thousand pounds) and throwing America into a ten-fold flame. Although he was of opinion the Americans should be eased, yet as the ministry had formed no systematic plan, he considered the intended partial repeal as futile, and the amendment inadequate. He did not think the first proposal would be of any real service, nor would he assist in forcing the ministry to adopt a measure which he thought very little better, and therefore should not vote.

General Conway, Sir William Meredith, and Colonel Barré supported the amendment: while Lord Barrington and Mr. Welbore Ellis opposed both the motion and the amendment; they saw no probability that repealing the tax would quiet America, and therefore were desirous of putting the act in execution absolutely, and with the united powers of the nation. The amendment was rejected, and the act ultimately passed according to the minister's first proposal. An ineffectual effort was afterwards made to repeal the duty on tea.

9th April.

C H A P.

XVII.

1770.

26th.
Motion for
papers.
8th and 9th
May. For
examin-
ation of the
instructions
to governors.

Alderman Trecothick, who failed in this attempt, succeeded in obtaining papers relative to American affairs. Governor Pownall founded on them a motion for an address, praying for the examination of the several powers and authorities contained in the commissions granted, and in the orders and instructions issued, to the provincial governors and commanders-in-chief; to the end that such commissions, instructions, and orders, might be explained, corrected, and amended, where they clashed or interfered with each other, or contained powers and authorities not warranted by law and the constitution. The governor supported his motion by a speech of great length, in which he panegyrized the loyalty and good dispositions of the colonists, and severely blamed the conduct of Sir Francis Bernard. He was seconded by the lord-mayor, and a strenuous debate ensued, which continued two days, and in which some recent transactions in America were vehemently discussed; but the motion was rejected."

18th May.
Motions in
the Lords.
19th. Pro-
rogation.

In the House of Lords, the Duke of Richmond offered eighteen resolutions, which, after some discussion, were disposed of by a motion of adjournment; and on the next day, the King terminated the session.

CHAPTER THE EIGHTEENTH.

1769 — 1770. — 1771.

View of America. — Effect of reviving the statute of Henry VIII. — in Massachusetts Bay. — Proceedings of the legislature. — Proceedings in other provinces. — Non-importation committees formed. — Examination of the conduct of ministry. — Conduct of the people of Boston towards the military. — Riot in Boston. — Town-meeting. — Soldiers removed. — Efforts to inspire revenge. — Trial, and acquittal of Captain Preston and his soldiers. — General court removed to Cambridge. — Unpopularity of the non-importation agreement — which is renounced on the repeal of the duties. — Remonstrance of the city of London to the King. — Behaviour of Beckford — approved by the city. — Address on the birth of a princess. — Address of the city to Lord Chatham. — Death of Beckford. — Combination of France and Spain. — Account of Falkland's Islands. — Expulsion of the English colonists by the Spaniards: — Information received in England. — Exertions of ministry. — Conduct of opposition. — Westminster meeting. — Debates in Parliament on the aggression of Spain. — Progress of negotiation. — Unwillingness of France to engage in War. — Dismission of Choiseul. — Concession of Spain, and final adjustment. — Changes in the ministry. — Disagreement between the two Houses of Parliament. — Arrangement with Spain approved. — Trials of certain printers for publishing Junius's Letters. — Discussion of Lord Mansfield's doctrine in cases of libels — he leaves a written document with the clerk of the House of Lords. — Disfranchisement of the electors of New Shoreham.

IN occupying themselves about America, the British Parliament yielded only to the dictates of propriety and necessity: the situation of affairs claimed interference, but the measures adopted were not judicious or salutary. While the cause of American insubordination was so vehemently defended by advocates of unparalleled courage, credit and ability, it could not be expected that the exertions of authority

C H A P.
XVIII.

View of
America.

C H A P.
XVIII.

in restraining the turbulent, and restoring the reign of order, should be attended with success. Every effort of coercion was resisted as an illegal encroachment, while all conciliatory attempts were considered as the results of timidity, and pledges of victory to future opposition.

Effect of re-
viving the
statute of
Henry VIII.

The measure of the Grafton administration, which announced the revival of the obsolete statute of Henry VIII. produced extensive ill consequences; the tyrannical spirit of that proceeding was so obvious, that in the provinces where the inhabitants were tranquil and loyal, it was felt as an invasion of liberty, and the people were obliged to those, in the other states, who were willing to brave the storm, and by a display of courageous hostility secure freedom to all the colonies.

In Massa-
chuset's
Bay.

31st May
1769.
Proceedings
of the legis-
lature.

In Massachusetts Bay, against which this measure was principally directed, and where the presence of soldiers inspired some little awe, a temporary consternation ensued; the writers of seditious publications desisted for a few weeks, but speedily resumed their labours. The new assembly, convened in pursuance of the King's writ, adhering to the spirit of their predecessors, stated in a message to the governor, that they could not proceed with freedom while ships of war were in the harbour, and a military force in the town of Boston, but the governor answered, he had no authority to remove either ships or troops. The assembly proceeded to the election of a council, carefully excluding every person attached to government, or who, by his talents and influence, had contributed to restrain or oppose the turbulent party: they then replied to the governor, that a military force assisting in the execution of laws, was inconsistent with the spirit of a free constitution: the unwillingness of a people in general, that a law should be executed, was strong presumption of its being unjust: it could not be the law of the people, as they must consent to laws before they can, in conscience, be

1769.
13th June.

obliged to obey. They voted charges against their governor for misconduct, and a petition for his removal, which was transmitted to their agent to be laid before the privy-council; and passed a vote, declaratory of their right, as British subjects, to be tried for treason, felony, or any other crime, within the colony; that they might not be deprived of the benefit of a jury of the vicinage, or of the advantage of summoning and producing witnesses. Governor Bernard prorogued the general court, and, during the recess, returned to England.^a

The example of the assembly of Massachusetts Bay was followed in several other provinces; they passed severe strictures on the conduct of administration, and entered into resolutions declaratory of their rights in cases of trials for treason; which, in some of the colonies, were expressed in terms so acrimonious that the assemblies were dissolved. This measure, far from producing the intended effect, increased the spirit of disaffection: the members of the legislative bodies returning to their homes, and mixing with the people, extended the influence of the opinions they had previously expressed and encouraged, and to which they had the credit of appearing as martyrs.

The prevailing resentment against the British government facilitated the operations of those who were desirous of distressing the mother country by anti-commercial combinations. Committees were appointed in the several towns, whose duty it was to examine cargoes on their arrival from Great Britain, and report to their constituents in what manner the terms of association had been adhered to; votes of censure were passed on those who infringed them, and their names were published as enemies to their

C H A P.
XVIII.

1769.
27th June.
8th July.

Proceed-
ings in other
provinces.

Non-im-
portation
committees
formed.

^a Almon's Collection of Papers, vol. i. p. 226, to the end. Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 60, et seq. While in England Governor Bernard was tried (28th February 1770) in the cock-pit, on the articles preferred against him by the general assembly of Massachusetts Bay, and acquitted. See Annual Register, 1770, p. 76. Gentleman's Magazine, 1770, p. 139 and 265.

C H A P.
XVIII.

1769.
Examina-
tion of the
conduct of
ministry.

country. These proceedings alarmed the merchants of London, and produced the application to Parliament which has already been mentioned.

Lord North's facility in yielding to this application was an unfortunate measure. The associations in America were always framed or sanctioned by mercantile speculators, who had large stocks of British goods in their possession; but according to the state of labour, and the difficulties of commerce which then prevailed, a perseverance of two years would have reduced the Americans to the necessity of applying again with abject humility to Great Britain, or of living on the produce of their own soil, deprived of every luxury to which they had been accustomed: in a state which would have reduced the most opulent of the associators to envy the condition of a common mechanic, or day-labourer at home. If it was desirable to the minister to coerce the Americans, they had furnished him with the means; for by taking advantage of their combinations, and issuing a prohibition against the exportation of drugs, and various other necessities, except on terms of proper submission, their own miseries would have produced such dissensions, and created such a general abhorrence of the spirit of resistance, that a long period must have elapsed before it could again have been exhibited with effect. If the ministry were afraid to pursue this bold course, they should have conciliated the colonists by a total repeal of the obnoxious law, and not left the Americans, without a possibility of experiencing the least inconvenience, in possession of a plausible ground of complaint.

Conduct of
the people
of Boston
towards the
military.

At the time when Lord North was preparing to restore, if possible, contentment to the colonists, they were again engaged in acts of outrage which demanded severe correction. While four regiments were quartered at Boston, the inhabitants were kept in awe by their numbers, and maintained a sullen tranquillity; but two being removed, they lost all fear, and dis-

played their animosity to government by insults on the military, who were abused and vilified in the newspapers, and every opportunity taken to degrade, and expose them to the hatred and contempt of the populace. The soldiers were neither by education, nor the habits acquired in the service, disposed to bear such treatment with patience, and the peace was frequently disturbed by contentions and affrays between them and the people. In this state of mutual animosity, each party imputed to the other views and designs which were probably never entertained. The Bostonians were accused of a project to expel the military by force, and of having engaged a party from the country to assist in executing it^b. The soldiers were charged with a systematic design to urge the people beyond their patience, that a moment of excess might furnish a pretext for a general massacre and plunder^c. Of the first of these accusations no evidence has ever appeared; the latter refutes itself; as the military, if they had formed such a design, would have executed it before they were weakened by the departure of half their force.

The quarrels of individuals and small parties, in process of time produced a general sentiment of rancour, which occasioned a more important contest. A dispute having arisen between the soldiers and the rope-makers who worked in Boston, and many circumstances of irritation having occurred, measures were taken on both sides for a general engagement. Unfortunately, all the disputes between the townsmen and the soldiers were kept concealed from the officers: the military would not impeach themselves, and the people maintained a lofty and supercilious reserve, disdaining to refer their grievances to the arbitrament of men whom they neither esteemed nor respected. In consequence of the previous disposition of the parties, and the fury excited by re-

Riot in
Boston.
2d March,
1770.

5th March.

^b Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 75.

^c Narrative of the horrid massacre in Boston; passim.

C H A P.

XVIII.

1770.

cent transactions, a serious riot was raised, the commencement and conduct of which are differently related, ■ prejudice or interest prevail, nor can any of the proceedings be recounted with the confidence arising from a clear and well-connected narrative.

It appears that an affray took place in the evening between two soldiers and a party of the lower order of people, upon which ■ mob was immediately raised. To increase the number of their partisans, the Bostonians broke into two meeting-houses, and rang the alarm-bells, which were the general signals of fire : they also ran about the streets calling on the people to leave their habitations and defend themselves. By these means an immense and exasperated multitude was collected. Captain Preston, the commanding officer on duty, who knew nothing of the late transactions, and considered the alarm to be really, as it was apparently, excited by fire, received information of the commotion with surprise. He repaired to the main-guard, and seeing the crowd flock toward the custom-house, and hearing the threats of the populace, became apprehensive of some attempt to obtain possession of the chest containing the King's money ; he was also informed that the people had expressed a resolution to murder the centinel. He summoned to his aid, a non-commissioned officer and twelve privates ; and, in order to prevent violence, accompanied the party himself. The mob, who were obliged, by the united efforts of the guards, to keep ■ certain distance, tried by abusive epithets and defiance, and by throwing stones and snowballs, to irritate the military to a forgetfulness of their duty. Captain Preston parleyed, and attempted to convince the people from the manner in which the men were drawn up, the position in which they held their arms, and the situation in which he himself stood, that no intention could be entertained of firing. While he was thus engaged, one of the mob struck ■ soldier with a cudgel ; the man, irritated at this insult, immediately fired. The

Captain turning to reprimand him for firing without orders, received a violent blow on the arm with a club. Some persons from behind gave the word, "fire;" but the confusion was so great, that no one distinctly knew from whom it proceeded. Captain Preston repeatedly ordered the men not to fire, but about ten pieces were discharged. The word could not have been clearly understood, nor could it have been given by the officer, since the men in their previous position stood with bayonets fixed, and their arms half-cocked; there are several intermediate words of command which an officer could not have omitted: beside, had the word been given by the officer, the whole division would have fired at once; whereas from every account it appears, that, after the man who had been struck, two fired, then three, and then five. The result was, that four persons were killed, and six or seven wounded: the populace fled with precipitation, but shortly returned to carry off their friends: the military, apprehensive of a new attack, were again preparing to fire, but Captain Preston prevented them by throwing up their pieces with his hand. The whole affair was a scene of hurry and confusion, occupying about twenty minutes. The populace continued in a state of insurrection: they beat a drum about the streets, calling "to arms;" several officers, who on a similar call to arms, were hastening to join their comrades, were beaten, knocked down, and wounded, and every appearance indicated an intention of further hostility. Lieutenant Governor Hutchinson, and Colonel Carr, at length interfered, and the soldiers being ordered to their barracks, the people were induced to retire to their houses.

The next day, a meeting of the inhabitants of Boston was held at the town-hall, when, after some warm speeches, they chose a committee of fifteen to wait on the lieutenant-governor with a message, requesting him, as the only possible means of preventing further

C H A P.
XVIII.

1770.

6th March.
Town-
meeting.

C H A P.
XVIII.

1770.

carnage, to remove the troops. He replied, that without orders from the general, who was at New York, the commanding officers could not remove the military; but promised that measures should be adopted for keeping them in situations where no future inconvenience could arise. This answer was declared to be not satisfactory, and a fresh committee of seven appointed to wait on the lieutenant-governor, with a message to that effect. Mr. Hutchinson immediately made application to the council, who voted, without hesitation or opposition, that it was essentially necessary for the good of His Majesty's service to remove the soldiers from the town. Colonel Dalrymple, the commanding officer, gave his word that he would comply, and they were accordingly removed to Castle William, the military duty at the town-house and town-prison being performed by the militia.

Soldiers
removed.

Efforts to
inspire re-
venge.

Every advantage was taken of this circumstance to inflame the public mind. At the funeral of those who had been killed, a general procession was made through the town; the shops were shut, and flags exhibited with emblematical devices and inscriptions, calculated to inspire revenge.

Indictment.

A charge of murder was preferred against Captain Preston and the soldiers acting under him, who immediately surrendered themselves into custody. Great efforts were used to procure depositions in corroboration of this accusation, and it is probable, had the trial been immediately proceeded in, such was the popular fury, that they would have been sacrificed. The proceedings were, however, deferred for some months, and, in the mean time, the news of the partial repeal of the tax act had restored a certain degree of calm. The trial was nevertheless conducted with great warmth, and continued six days. Upward of fifty witnesses were examined, and the counsel on both sides exerted great ability. Captain Preston was honourably acquitted: as were

24th to
30th Oct.
Trial and
acquittal
of the mi-
litary.

all the other parties, except two, who were found guilty of manslaughter.^d

The lieutenant-governor, after the departure of the troops, proceeded to hold the general court of the province; but justly apprehensive of the influence which their sitting generally produced among the people, he removed them to the town of Cambridge. Irritated at this proceeding, and conscious of the motive, the council and assembly, although the lieutenant-governor's speech pointed out several important topics of consideration, refused to enter on any business unless the governor would convene them at Boston, the usual place.

The patriots who composed this general court were, in fact, reduced to great difficulties. The self-denial imposed by the non-importation agreement had become extremely irksome in several of the provinces. Newport, in Rhode Island, relinquished the confederacy, and New York meditated a similar proceeding; Portsmouth, the capital of New Hampshire, had never acceded to the measure, and the superior comforts enjoyed by the inhabitants of these places were little diminished by the anathemas of Boston, where trade was on the decline, and where the merchants envied, while they decried, the effects of a mode of conduct different from their own. While the public mind was in this state the law arrived for the repeal of duties: the associators gladly seizing this opportunity of making an advantageous compromise between their pride and their necessities, consented to renew their trade with Great Britain, in every article except tea, and orders of more than usual extent were transmitted to the mother-country.^e

The contest of the City of London with the court was carried on with unabated acrimony and audacity.

^d Taken from Stedman's History of the American War, vol. i. p. 75; Narrative of the horrid Massacre at Boston, printed by order of the town, and reprinted by Dilly and Almon; account of the riot; case of Thomas Preston, and account of his trial, inserted in the Annual Register, 1770, p. 211.

^e Stedman, vol. i. p. 77.

C H A P.
XVIII.

1770.
12th May.
General
court re-
moved to
Cambridge.

Unpopu-
larity of
the non-
importation
agreement;

which is
renounced
on the re-
peal of du-
ties.

Remon-
strance of
the city of
London.
23d May.

CHAP.
XVIII.
1770.

Before the rising of parliament a common-council was held for the purpose of framing another remonstrance to the King, in consequence of his answer to the former, a measure strongly supported by Mr. Beckford, and voted by a great majority^f. The paper was carried to St. James's by the lord-mayor, and a suitable train of attendants: it expressed the deep concern of the city at the awful sentence of censure lately passed upon it, from the throne; and after recapitulating the grievances complained of in former addresses, concluded with a prayer to heaven, that His Majesty might reign, as kings only can reign, in and by the hearts of a loyal, dutiful, and free people.

The King's
answer.

Beckford's
reply.

The King said, He should have been wanting to the public, as well as to himself, if he had not expressed dissatisfaction at the late address. The lord-mayor, after obtaining permission to reply, begged leave to declare on behalf of his fellow-citizens, how much the bare apprehension of His Majesty's displeasure would, at all times, affect their minds; the declaration of it had filled them with inexpressible anxiety, and the deepest affliction. He supplicated the King not to dismiss them from his presence without some comfort, and prospect at least of redress. No answer being returned, the lord-mayor and his suite withdrew.^g

22d May.
28th.

The birth of a princess furnished another occasion for the city to display their zeal in giving offence

^f 7 Aldermen, 105 commoners, to 8 aldermen, 57 commoners.

^g View of the History of Great Britain during the administration of Lord North, p. 19. — The recorder of London, Sir James Eyre, afterward chief justice of the common pleas, declined attending with this address; his conduct gave offence, and was (27th Sept.) made a subject of investigation before the common-council. In his defence, he alledged that his conscience would not suffer him to be present at the delivery of, much less to read, an address and remonstrance couched in such harsh terms; it appeared to him an indignity to the sovereign and the parliament. This apology was so little satisfactory, that on a subsequent day (12th Oct.) a vote passed by a large majority, that he should be no more advised with, retained, or employed in the affairs of the corporation, being unworthy of their future trust and confidence. The violence and injustice of this vote were abundantly compensated by the esteem and veneration in which the object of it was held during twenty-seven years, the remainder of his life, and by the public regret at the loss of a learned, upright, and intelligent judge.

to the King. A court of common-council being held at Guildhall, the conduct of the lord mayor on the late occasion was, after some discussion, highly approved. Mr. Wilkes, who had lately, in defiance of decency, and not without some doubts in point of law, been made an alderman, bore a principal share in this debate. He vindicated Mr. Beckford; and alleged as a reason for not attending at court on the 23d, that, from the eagerness of ministry to murder the people, he was convinced, if he had gone to St. James's, and only a few boys had shouted, it would have been a pretence for another massacre. On the motion for an address of congratulation, he observed, this did not seem a time for compliments; the citizens of London had been treated of late with great indignity; their petitions were received with contempt, their remonstrance with insult; it seemed to be the only study of administration to affront the city, and provoke the people, as instances of which he adduced the favours conferred on relations of Lord Holland and Lord Barrington, and on Governor Bernard, who had been made a baronet, and received a pension, merely because he was a tyrant, and universally detested by our brethren in America. For these reasons, he observed, the address ought to be very chaste, modest, and reserved, and confined to what he hoped would ever be a subject of real joy to Englishmen, an increase of the Brunswick line.ⁿ

An address was framed in strict conformity with this advice, and carried up by the lord mayor and several aldermen: the populace did not omit this opportunity to manifest their hatred of those who were attached to the court. The lord mayor and three aldermen had no sooner passed through Temple-bar, than the gates were suddenly shut against Alderman Harley: the mob pelted him with stones and dirt, pulled him out of his carriage, obliged him to take refuge for the preservation

C H A P.
XVIII.

1770.
Beckford's
conduct ap-
proved.

Address on
the birth of
■ princess.

Alderman
Harley in-
sulted.

■ Gentleman's Magazine, 1770, p. 273.

C H A P.

XVIII.

1770.

of his life, and when he afterwards proceeded in a hackney-coach, followed him to St. James's with fresh insults and renewed injuries. Having committed this outrage, they allowed the city marshal to open the gates, and suffered the rest of the procession to pass unmolested. To protect the King from the repetition of insult, the lord chamberlain informed the lord mayor of His Majesty's desire, that no reply might again be made to him: the lord mayor demanded a copy of this message in writing, which was refused; and after some altercation the address was delivered and answered.

1st June.
Address of
the city to
Lord
Chatham.

Far different was the manner in which an address was voted and presented to Lord Chatham, who was thanked for his zeal in support of the right of election and petition, and for his promise to use his endeavours that parliaments might be restored to their original purity, by shortening the period of their continuance, and introducing a more full and equal representation. To this compliment Lord Chatham returned a manly and dignified answer; he applauded the city for their perseverance in defending their rights, but informed them some misapprehension had prevailed with respect to his opinions on the duration of parliaments; for he was bound to declare he could not recommend triennial parliaments. He had expressed his earnest wish for a more full and equal representation; but had thrown out that idea with the just diffidence of a private man, when he presumes to suggest any thing new on a high matter. The remainder of his speech contained expressions of civility appropriate to the address.

His answer.

21st June.
Death of
Beckford.

Soon after this transaction, Mr. Beckford died, and his decease materially affected the state of parties in the city. His influence and fortune enabled him to restrain the diversities of opinion which prevailed among the heads of opposition, and unite them in a compact, consistent body; he was succeeded by

29th.

Alderman Trecothick, who being a strenuous supporter of the same measures, no difference was immediately perceptible.

C H A P.
XVIII.
1770.

Since the conclusion of the peace, continual efforts had been used to convince the people that they were reduced to a most ignominious situation, and unrespected among the powers of Europe: Great Britain was represented as being without an ally, and daily threatened with the renewal of hostilities. Lord Chatham, it is said, predicted, toward the close of the late session, that a great blow either was, or would soon be struck in some part of the world¹. This assertion was founded on truth, and clearly shews Lord Chatham's extensive information, or his political sagacity; but if his intelligence was precise, he greatly exaggerated the importance of an exploit, which, though the result of a profound combination, was in itself of very little consequence, namely the expulsion of the English from Falkland's Islands by a Spanish force.

Prediction
of Lord
Chatham.

The sole end of the family compact was to reduce the power of Great Britain; and although the campaign of 1762 compelled France and Spain to accede to a disadvantageous peace, Choiseul and Grimaldi, the ministers of those countries, resolved to attack Great Britain, whenever a favourable opportunity should occur. The present moment seemed to afford the desired crisis, as the navy under the administration of Lord Hawke, was left in a neglected state, and utterly unfit to protect the distant possessions of the country against the united efforts of two such powerful enemies. It was therefore agreed, that France and Spain should at the same time assail the British possessions in distant quarters of the globe; but the pacific disposition of Louis XV. arising from love of ease and voluptuousness, and the declining influence of M. de Choiseul, prevented that minister

Combina-
tion of
France and
Spain.

¹ History of Lord North's administration, p. 21.

CHAP.
XVIII.Account of
Falkland's
Islands.

from carrying his part of the project into execution, although he entertained hopes, when hostilities should be commenced, of inducing the King to take up arms in support of his ally.^k

Spain began by forcibly expelling the English from Falkland's Islands, a possession which, in consequence of this dispute, was elevated to a degree of notice never before bestowed, and which it has not retained. The *Isles Malouines*, called by the English Falkland's Islands, were considered of so little importance, that their first discovery and original name are not clearly ascertained. They have been successively claimed by, and received appellations from the English, Dutch, and French. Captain Davis, a companion of Cavendish, in 1592, is reputed the earliest discoverer; but he did not even assign them a name. Two years afterward they were descried by Sir Richard Hawkins, who in honour of Queen Elizabeth and himself, called them Hawkins's Maiden Land. In 1598, two Dutch navigators, Verhagen and Sebald de Wert, called them Sebald's Islands. They then, for more than a century, remained unnoticed to such a degree, that doubts were entertained of their existence; but a voyage being made into that region in 1689 by Strong, whose journal is preserved in the British Museum, he is supposed to have distinguished them by the appellation of Falkland's Islands; the name was adopted by Halley, and from that time inserted in the English maps. The privateers who visited those seas in the reigns of William and Anne, also saw these islands, but were deterred by their dreary appearance from making particular observations. Strong affirmed there was no wood, and Dampier suspected they had no water. A Frenchman named Frezier, also noticed, and called them *Les Malouines*.^l

Hitherto changes of name, unattended with events, improvements, or possession, were the only

^k From private information.

^l Derived from St. Malo.

circumstances which authenticated the existence of Falkland's islands; but after Lord Anson's return from his celebrated expedition, commenced in 1740^m, they attracted some attention. The narrator of the voyage, anxious to convince the public that the high opinion entertained of Lord Anson, was not merely founded on the capture of the Acapulco ship, descanted among other topics, on the national advantage of securing a settlement in Pepy's and Falkland's Islands, affirming it to be essentially necessary for future operations against the Spanish settlements in Chili, as it would produce many benefits in peace, and in war render the English masters of the South Sea.

C H A P.
XVIII.

The credit and influence of Lord Anson enabled him to procure, in 1748, the equipment of a squadron for the purpose of obtaining a fuller knowledge of Pepy's and Falkland's Islands, and for making further discoveries in the South Sea; but General Wall, ambassador from Spain, making repeated remonstrances, the project was finally abandoned, although the right to pursue it at a subsequent period was not explicitly renounced.

The magnificent advantages promised in the account of Anson's voyage, and the anxious desire entertained by the French to obtain an equivalent for the ceded dominion of Canada, induced M. de Bougainville, in August 1763, to fit out two vessels, for the express purpose of making discoveries, and effecting an establishment in the Malouines. In 1764, he took possession in the name of the King of Franceⁿ, but afterward was dispatched to Madrid, and not only relinquished the settlement in favour of Spain, but accompanied a Spanish governor to an island which then received the name of Port Soladad.

Settlement
made by
the
French;

but ceded to
Spain.

Meanwhile the Admiralty of England prepared another expedition under Captain Byron, who sailed

■ See Smollett's continuation of Hume, vol. iii. p. 41. 141.

■ See History of a Voyage to the Malouine or Falkland's Islands particularly p. 218, of the English translation in 4to. 1773.

C H A P.

XVIII.

Settlement
by England.

in May 1764, and on the 23d January 1765, took possession of one of the islands, in the name of the King of Great Britain. On his return, a narrative of the voyage was published, in which the settlement was described as an object of the utmost importance; the island was said to be six or seven hundred miles in circumference, with a spacious and a secure harbour, which, in honour of the first lord of the Admiralty, was named Port Egmont; it was well adapted for the growth of wood; provided with excellent water; abounding in vegetables and wild fowl, and supposed to contain iron, and perhaps more valuable ores.

Influenced by this description, the British Government, early in 1766, sent Captain Mac Bride to Port Egmont, where he erected a small block-house, and stationed a garrison. But his report did not verify the hopes derived from Captain Byron's account; he found a mass of islands, and broken lands, the soil of which was a mere bog, and subject to perpetual storms, which in winter rendered the communication with the shore extremely difficult and precarious. Sea-lions and penguins, animals of no worth, were abundant; but there were no means of providing sustenance in winter, and summer promised nothing more than a few geese and snipes, and a crop of wild celery and sorrel. Nor did the soil yield to the efforts of cultivation; a garden was prepared, but the plants withered; and even firs, the hardy produce of the bleakest regions, could not resist the climate of the Falkland's islands, but perished like weaker herbage.*

The garrison continued in this situation, deriving annually, at a great and unprofitable expence, their supplies from England, unprovided against an as-

* This account is taken principally from Dr. Johnson's Thoughts on the late Transactions respecting Falkland's Islands. Reference has also been had to Bougainville's and Byron's Voyages, and Penrose's Account of the last Expedition to Falkland's Islands in 1772.

sault, which, from the nature of their tenure, they did not expect, when a Spanish schooner, from port Soladad, was observed hovering about the island. Captain Hunt of the Tamer immediately warned the Spanish commander to depart from the coast, as belonging to the King of Great Britain, an order which met with instant compliance.

In two days the schooner returned, with a Spanish officer on board, and letters from Don Philip Ruiz Puente, governor of port Soladad, expressed in terms of civility. The governor affecting to be unacquainted with the formation of an English settlement, and to consider the presence of Captain Hunt as accidental, declared his astonishment at the interruption of the schooner's voyage, and suggested that the conduct of the pilot must have been irregular: for he was persuaded that an officer commanding a ship of war belonging to so civilized a nation, could not be so deficient in the respect due to the Spanish flag in the King of Spain's dominions.

In answer, Captain Hunt asserted, that the islands belonged to His Britannic Majesty, both by discovery and settlement, and warned the Spaniards to quit them within six months. The Spanish officer sent from Soladad protested against the pretensions and conduct of Captain Hunt, who must be responsible for the ill consequences likely to ensue; the causes of protest were Captain Hunt's threatening to fire, if the Spaniard attempted to execute his commission, and opposing his approach to the colony; and it was declared that Captain Hunt's entering Soladad harbour, though in an amicable manner, would be deemed an insult. Other letters, answers, and protests, ensued in the course of the succeeding month, but were productive of no further consequences.

At length, two Spanish frigates, of considerable force, with troops on board for Port Soladad, arrived at Port Egmont. The commander Don Fernando de Rubalcava, wrote a letter to Captain Hunt, express-

C H A P.
XVIII.

28th Nov.

1769.

Arrival of
a Spanish
schooner.

30th.

Remon-
strance of
the Spa-
niards.

1770.

20th Feb.

Arrival of
two Spanish
frigates.

C H A P.
XVIII.
1770.

ing great surprise at finding a kind of settlement under the British flag: claimed the dominion as the right of his master, the King of Spain, and accused the British commander of having violated the terms of the last peace; but he would abstain from all other proceedings till he had acquainted His Catholic Majesty with this disagreeable affair. Captain Hunt again asserted the King's right to the territory, but behaved with polite attention to the Spanish commander, and assisted him to procure a supply of water, a want of which he had alleged as a motive for touching at Port Egmont.

Captain
Hunt sails
for England.

The situation of affairs was now become so critical, that Captain Hunt thought it advisable to return to England; and left Captain Maltby in the *Favourite*, of sixteen guns, chief in command: the *Swift*, also a sloop of sixteen guns, which, with the *Favourite*, constituted the whole naval force left after Captain Hunt's departure, was unfortunately overset in the straits of Magellan; three of the crew were drowned, and the rest, with the utmost difficulty, saved.

4th June,
Arrival and
proceedings
of a Spanish
armament.
7th.

Shortly after this event, a Spanish frigate put into Port Egmont, under pretence that she had been fifty-three days from Buenos Ayres, going to Port Soladad, and was distressed for water. In a few days, the remainder of the force arrived; and it then appeared that they had been at sea but twenty-six days, having sailed for the express purpose of expelling the English from Port Egmont. For this exploit they had on board upward of sixteen hundred men, a hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon belonging to the ships, and a train of artillery, and other materials, sufficient for the investment of a regular fortification; while the English force, on shore, consisted only of four pieces of cannon, unfit for service, and a wooden blockhouse. A Spanish broad pendant was immediately hoisted; Captain Farmer ordered the men, who had belonged to the *Swift*, to come on shore for the defence of the settlement; and Captain

Maltby, intending to bring the *Favourite* nearer into the cove, was hailed by the Spanish commander, who threatened immediately to fire into him if he weighed anchor. Captain Maltby, notwithstanding this menace, stood out to sea; two shots were fired, which fell to leeward; and three of the Spanish frigates, in imitation of the English commander, quitted the harbour. Captain Maltby sent an officer to the Spanish admiral, to know why he had fired, and received for answer that the shot were merely meant as signals.

Captain Farmer now dispatched a message, requiring the frigates, as they had obtained refreshments, to leave the island without delay. The Spanish commander, John Ignacio Madariaga, wrote the same day to both the commanders, advising them to consider the immense superiority of his force, and the harmony reigning between their respective sovereigns, and to quit the port immediately, otherwise he would be compelled, though reluctantly, to use hostilities. The ensuing day he wrote another letter to the same effect, demanding a categorical answer in fifteen minutes. In reply, Captain Maltby insisted on the right of continuing; protested against the Spaniards who obliged him to retire by means of their superior force, and announced his resolution to maintain the honour of the British flag. Madariaga returned that it was not then proper, nor was it his business, to discuss questions of right; but he should do what he thought just, submitting to the British and Spanish courts the decision of propriety; and desired the captains to send an officer who might view his force, and convince them of the inutility of resistance:

In the night, Captain Maltby landed fifty of the *Favourite's* men, with two six-pounders, ten swivels, small arms and ammunition; the next morning, the Spaniards disembarked part of their troops to the northward. Having advanced half way to the block-house, the rest of their boats, with the remainder of

C H A P.
XVIII.

1770.
The English
expelled.

their troops, and artillery, rowed into the cove, covered by the fire of the frigates. The English fired a few shot, but finding resistance ineffectual, hoisted a flag of truce, and desired articles of capitulation. The terms were in themselves sufficiently haughty; an immediate surrender and evacuation of the island; and this unconditional submission was rendered more irksome by a stipulation, that the British forces should not depart for twenty days. To enforce submission, the Favourite's rudder was taken off and carried on shore. The obvious intent of this proceeding was to allow ample time for a Spanish vessel to reach Europe with intelligence before any could be received in England, and the harshness of the measure is not palliated by the forbearance of Madariaga, in not seizing the few unimportant effects possessed by the English.^p

8d June.
Arrival of
Captain
Hunt in
England.

23d Aug.
Intelligence
received
from the
British
chargé des
affaires in
Spain;

12th Sept.
and from
the Spanish
ambassador
in London.

Meanwhile Captain Hunt arrived at Plymouth, and informed the Admiralty that the island had been claimed by the governor of Port Soladad; but this act being considered as the effect of a splenetic quarrel, the intelligence excited no sensation. Mr. Harris, the British chargé des affaires, who was left at Madrid, on the departure of Sir James Gray in August 1769, next gave notice to Lord Weymouth of the arrival of a vessel from Buenos Ayres, which brought intelligence that an armament, fitted out in May from that settlement, intended to dislodge the English from Port Egmont: their success, however, was considered extremely precarious. The fact was, at length, rendered indubitable by the voluntary declaration of Prince Maserano, the Spanish ambassador in London, who announced to Lord Weymouth, that Don Francisco Buccarelli, the Spanish governor of Buenos Ayres, had taken on himself to dispossess the English of Port Egmont; and Captain Maltby, arriving shortly afterward,

^p Johnson's Pamphlet; Papers published by Authority; Debrett's Debates, vol. i.

transmitted from the Motherbank an account of the late events, supported by the proper documents.

Undoubtedly the circumstances of the case would have justified immediate hostilities; but, considering the internal affairs of England, it was more prudent to omit no means of arranging the dispute by amicable negotiation. The people were fired at the indignity offered to the British flag, by a nation whom they considered as the most feeble of opponents, and whose immense wealth they, in idea, fondly grasped as an inevitable and easy prey. There is no principle so just as not to be perverted by the adoption of exaggerated notions, and on that account popular reasonings are more frequently delusive, when founded on some undeniable axiom. A statesman cannot regulate his conduct in conformity to all the deductions made by the public, from incontrovertible data, but must in every instance, be guided by peculiar features of the individual transaction, not making himself the slave of a system which may often fail in its application to cases apparently parallel. In the present affair, the conduct of administration could hardly afford general satisfaction: if the ministry adopted a pacific course, the injured honour of the nation, the facility of revenge, and the certainty of a glorious contest, would form themes of inexhaustible declamation; if, on the other hand, they yielded to the popular ardour, and engaged in hostilities, however justifiable, the unimportant object in dispute, the necessity of allowing the suffering country a longer period to recruit after its late exhausting conflict, together with the common-place topics by which war is deprecated and peace recommended, would have been incessantly enforced, and placed in all the various forms which party ability could supply.

The ministry had the misfortune to experience the difficulties and discredit attached to both these modes of conduct, without receiving the approbation due to

C H A P.

XVIII.

1770.

Observations.

Conduct of the ministry.

C H A P.
XVIII.

1770.
13th Sept.
22d.

Opposition.

either. On the receipt of intelligence from Prince Maserano, orders were issued from the Admiralty for preparing guardships; and when the Favourite arrived, bounties to seamen were offered by royal proclamation; ships were put into commission, and the usual measures adopted for making a formidable and efficacious naval preparation. But however agreeable these exertions might be to the temper of the nation, and however serious the crisis, the arts of opposition were earnestly and incessantly employed in rendering the efforts of government vain and abortive.

The sailors, generally anxious to offer their services in a war against Spain, were now led to believe they had suffered injustice by the distribution of the Havannah prize money, in the preceding war, and evaded by all possible means the call of the country^a. They were taught to adopt the prevailing fashion, and attended the King with a petition, wherein they cited acts of parliament, and reasoned profoundly on the impropriety and illegality of recruiting the navy by means of press-warrants^r. The lords of the Admiralty applied to the lord mayor of London requiring him to sanction these authorities, but he refused to do it on their application, alleging that it was not customary, unless the request came from the privy-council. And although afterward the warrants were properly backed by the chief magistrate^s, the execution of them was impeded by the spirit of faction, and Mr. Wilkes liberated a man who was impressed in the city.

26th Oct.

Westminster
meeting.

30th.

This was not the only instance in which Mr. Wilkes shewed his inclination to impede the operations of government, and increase the ferment of the public mind. A meeting of the members of two political tavern clubs was convened for the purpose of discuss-

^a History of Lord North's administration, p. 25.

^r See Gentleman's Magazine, 1770, p. 401.

^s Trecothick was exposed to great censure for this act, and at the expiration of his mayoralty, obliged to explain and apologise to the livery for his conduct.

ing the propriety of giving instructions to the members for Westminster to impeach Lord North. On this occasion the dissensions among the city demagogues, which had been restrained during the life of Alderman Beckford, displayed themselves in public contention. Sir Robert Bernard was in the chair; the instructions for impeachment were supported by Mr. Wilkes, and combated by Alderman Sawbridge, who recommended a remonstrance; but the opinion of Mr. Wilkes prevailed. The next day a large concourse of people assembled at Westminster-hall, to hear the proposal discussed, but the resolution of the preceding day was over-ruled, and the remonstrance voted. Although Wilkes and Sawbridge disagreed in the measure they proposed, they seemed to entertain principles perfectly congenial, and their efforts formed a struggle for pre-eminence in vulgar and licentious railing against the King and his ministers. Mr. Wilkes opposed the remonstrance, "because it would only serve to make a paper kite for the Prince of Wales;" and Sawbridge resisted the impeachment, "because Lord North, by his influence over the bishops and Scotch peers in the Upper, and over the placemen in the Lower House, would be infallibly acquitted, and the people precluded from any further complaint." The remonstrance required, among other absurdities, "that His Majesty would for ever remove from his presence and councils all his ministers and secretaries of state, particularly Lord Mansfield; and not admit a Scotchman into the administration."

CHAP.
XVIII.

1770.

31st.

Soon after this ridiculous and indecorous transaction the session of parliament commenced. The King informed the Houses that by an act of the governor of Buenos Ayres, in seizing by force one of his possessions, the honour of the crown, and security of

18th Nov.
Meeting of
parliament.

* See Wilkes's Account of the proceedings at the late meeting of the electors of Westminster, *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1770, p. 519, 538; *Annual Register*, 1770, p. 160.

C H A P.
XVIII.1776.
Debate on
the address.

the people's rights, were deeply affected. He then stated the measures hitherto pursued, and called on parliament for advice and assistance. The address in the House of Lords was carried without debate; in the House of Commons an opposition was made, but no amendment moved. The minister was blamed for making Buccarrelli, the governor of Buenos Ayres, the object of complaint, instead of the King of Spain, when it must be obvious that the conduct of the governor was sanctioned by the monarch. Lord North answered, that as the intrinsic value of Falkland's Islands could not be deemed a sufficient cause of war, negotiation would be more proper, and therefore it was prudent to allow the King of Spain to avow, or disavow, as he thought proper, the act of the governor.

Motions
for papers,
22d Nov.

This was not the only animadversion occasioned by the Spanish dispute. A motion was made in each house on the same day, for an address, praying the King to give directions, "that all papers received by the ministry, between the 12th of September 1769, and the 12th of September 1770, touching hostilities, commenced or designed to be commenced by the crown of Spain, or any of its officers, should be laid before parliament." The motion in the Lords was made by the Duke of Richmond, who entered historically into the transaction, and averred that the hostile intentions of the Spaniards were not limited to the claim of Falkland's Islands, as appeared by their preventing the departure of the garrison and ship's crew immediately after the capture of the place; and he asserted that no less than three thousand British seamen were then prisoners in ports belonging to Spain, having been taken out of merchant ships by guarda-costas, and condemned to perpetual slavery, or confinement. In answer Lord Hillsborough contended, that the production of the papers would embarrass a negotiation already in a prosperous train; descanted on the delicacy and punctiliousness of

Spanish honour, and insisted that ministry had conducted themselves with prudence, vigour, and vigilance.

C H A P.
XVIII.

1770.

Lord Chatham ridiculed the manner in which mention had been made of Spanish honour, and asserted the English to be a candid, ingenuous people, while the Spaniards were no less mean and crafty than they were proud and insolent. He objected to negotiation, and treated the supposed disavowal by the court of Spain of their governor's act, as an absolute falsehood. When the French took possession of Tortuga, the minister at the head of the treasury did not negotiate: he sent for the French ambassador, made a peremptory demand; a courier was dispatched to Paris, and returned in a few days, with orders for instant restitution, not only of the island, but of all effects belonging to the English. The present negotiation might produce a temporary arrangement, but the country would in six months be involved in a Spanish war. He disclaimed the imputation of being inclined to hurry the kingdom, at all events, into hostilities; he was desirous of peace, but let it be honourable, let it be secure: a patched-up peace would not satisfy the nation, though it might be approved in parliament. He then entered into a long statement, proving that the naval service had been egregiously neglected; indicated the maritime exertions, which, in time of war, would be requisite; and asserted that in more than two months, ministry had not raised above eight thousand seamen: they boasted of having put forty ships of the line into commission, but to his certain knowledge forty thousand men would be necessary to equip such an armament, with its attendant frigates^u. The

^u In this part of his speech Lord Chatham expressed his sentiments at length on the subject of impressing seamen, and as they merit consideration, the following extract is given. "The subject on which I am speaking seems to call upon me, and I willingly take this occasion, to declare my opinion upon the question, on which much wicked pains have been employed to disturb the minds of the

C H A P.
XVIII.
1770.

Spaniards, he declared, had in Ferrol a fleet completely manned and ready to sail, which Great Britain was in no condition to meet. We could not send out eleven sail perfectly equipped; and if the House of Bourbon were to make a wise and vigorous use of their actual advantage, in a month we must be no longer a nation. After many desultory remarks on the general state of affairs, protracted to a considerable length, he concluded in these words, "The ministry are now balancing between a war which they ought to have foreseen, but for which they have made no provision, and an ignominious compromise. Let me warn them of their danger: if they are forced into a war, they stand it at the hazard of their heads; if, by a compromise, they should stain the honour of the crown, or sacrifice the rights of the people, let them look to their consciences, and consider whether they will be able to walk the streets in safety."

Several other peers spoke on the question; and Lord Sandwich, with considerable effect, retorted on opposition the charge of disagreement in opinions, which had been alleged against the ministry; they disagreed, he observed, at York meeting, at Westminster, and in that house; he could trace dis-

people, and to distress government. My opinion may not be very popular; neither am I running the race of popularity. I am myself clearly convinced, and I believe every man who knows any thing of the English navy will acknowledge, that, without impressing, it is impossible to equip a respectable fleet within the time in which such armaments are usually wanted. If this fact be admitted, and if the necessity of arming on a sudden emergency should appear incontrovertible, what shall we think of those men who, in a moment of danger, would stop the great defence of their country? Upon whatever principle they may act, the act itself is more than faction; it is labouring to cut off the right hand of the community. I wholly condemn their conduct, and am ready to support any motion that may be made for bringing those aldermen, who have endeavoured to stop the execution of the admiralty warrants, to the bar of this House. My Lords, I do not rest my opinion merely on necessity. I am satisfied that the power of impressing is founded on uninterrupted usage; it is the *consuetudo regni*, and part of the common-law prerogative of the crown. When I condemn the proceedings of some persons on this occasion, let me do justice to a man whose character and conduct have been infamously traduced, I mean the late lord-mayor, Mr. Trecothick. In the midst of reproach and clamour, he had firmness to persevere in doing his duty. I do not know in office a more upright magistrate; nor, in private life, a worthier man."

cordant sentiments among them, through the whole chain of opposition, down to Wilkes and Eldrige. The previous question was loudly called for, and rejected by a large majority^u. The debate in the House of Commons, though long, animated, and sustained by good speakers on both sides, did not, as far as can be judged from the published reports, embrace any novelty of argumentation, or disclose any new fact. It was terminated by a vote against the previous question.^x

C H A P.
XVIII.
1770.

One motive with the opposition for pressing so strongly the question relative to this unimportant capture, appears to have been the train in which the negotiations were proceeding. The tendency of general opinion to the period of the recess, was that war was inevitable, and the minority were anxious to obtain from the ministry some explicit declaration, some unequivocal pledge, that should bind them in the conduct of hostilities, and retard if not prevent the possibility of peace. It has been already stated, that before the arrival of Captain Hunt in England, with an account of his expulsion from Falkland's Islands, a letter was received by Lord Weymouth from Mr. Harris, apprizing him of the intended expedition; and about the same time Lord Weymouth was informed by Prince Maserano, that he had reason to believe the governor of Buenos Ayres had taken upon himself to make use of force in expelling the English from Port Egmont. Maserano said he was directed to make this communication to prevent the consequences which might arise from its being disclosed through another channel, and expressed his wishes that it might not be productive of measures dangerous to the good understanding between the two courts. Lord Weymouth answered, if the ex-

Progress of
negotiation.

10th Sept.

^u 65 to 21.

^x Carried by 225, against 101. The reader must observe the difficulty of judging correctly of the debate on any public question at this period, as the documents are extremely slender, and the reporters shamefully partial.

C H A P.

XVIII.

1770.

12th Sept.

25th.

pulsion had already taken place, he did not think the fatal consequences could be avoided; the King's instructions to the British officer, commanding at Port Egmont were, to warn the subjects of other powers from those shores; but if they would not depart, to make a joint settlement with them, and refer the question of right to be discussed in Europe. He inquired whether Grimaldi had instructions to disavow the conduct of Buccarelli. On receiving an answer in the negative, Lord Weymouth applied for further instructions, and then demanded a disavowal of the proceedings at Port Egmont, and also that the affairs of the settlement should be restored to their pristine state. He also wrote immediately to Mr. Harris, stating these circumstances, and requiring him to wait on the Spanish minister, and enforce a compliance with those demands, as the only means of suspending the preparations then making in England. Mr. Harris, afterward Earl of Malmsbury, who was then a very young man, began his diplomatic career with this delicate transaction, which he managed with great sagacity and address. He waited on M. Grimaldi, and in very proper language, delivered the complaints and demands which he was authorized to make. The answer was vague and unsatisfactory: Grimaldi asserted, the English had reason to foresee the event, as their establishment was known to be disapproved by Spain; he testified concern at the transaction, and said he had dispatched a vessel from Corunna to prevent it, but unfortunately too late; still he could not blame the conduct of Buccarelli, as it was founded on the laws of America. He declared Spain to be desirous of peace, as she had much to lose and little to gain by war. Mr. Harris having reduced his demands to writing, the Spanish minister promised to lay them before the King: the desire of peace was declared to be reciprocal, but Grimaldi was tenacious of his master's honour, while Mr. Harris insisted on a compliance

with the terms of his requisition, as the only mode of doing justice, and satisfying the honour of Great Britain. Two days afterward Mr. Harris was informed by the minister, that as the affair could only be arranged in London, Prince Maserano was directed to lay before Lord Weymouth "the several ideas," on this subject, trusting some of them would be adopted.

C H A P.
XVIII.
1770.

Instructions were transmitted to Prince Maserano, to propose a convention, in which Spain should disavow any particular orders given to Buccarelli, and at the same time admit that the governor had acted agreeably to general instructions, and to his oath. Maserano was also empowered to stipulate the restitution of Falkland's Islands, without prejudice to His Catholic Majesty's rights, and to require the King of England to disavow the menace of Captain Hunt. When this proposition was made, Lord Weymouth, considering it extremely remote from affording satisfaction for the injury complained of, answered with great spirit, that when the King's moderation condescended to require the court of Madrid to disavow the proceedings of the governor of Buenos Ayres, and restore things precisely to that situation in which they stood before the rash and unwarrantable undertaking of the governor, as the smallest reparation for the injury that could be accepted, nothing remained for discussion, except the mode of carrying the disavowal and restitution into execution. He declared His Majesty's firm adherence to his first demand, and the total inadmissibility of the proposed convention; the King, who had received an injury, required the most moderate reparation which his honour would permit him to accept, but that reparation would lose its value if conditional, and to be obtained by any stipulation. Maserano declared he had no power to proceed, except by convention, and must apply for further instructions. Lord Weymouth wrote to Mr. Harris, desiring him

Oct. 11th
to 17th.

C H A P. to see Grimaldi, and request an answer from the
XVIII. King of Spain.

1770.
28th Oct.

6th Nov.

Such was the position of the affair at the meeting of Parliament. Mr. Harris waited several times on Grimaldi, without obtaining a satisfactory answer; and at length was informed, that a dispatch was sent to Prince Maserano, empowering him to renew the treaty. The impression made on Mr. Harris's mind by this dispatch, which Grimaldi read to him, was, that the Spanish court appeared ready to agree to every thing required; the refusal to disavow the menace of Captain Hunt constituted the only difficulty.^y

21st Dec.
Mr. Harris
ordered to
leave Spain.

But the conduct of Maserano did not justify these expectations^z; and as little hope was entertained of a satisfactory adjustment, it was judged expedient to warn the British merchants at Cadiz, Alicant, and in other parts of Spain, of their danger, and to order all officers belonging to the garrison of Gibraltar, to repair immediately to their post. After the recess, war was deemed inevitable, and Mr. Harris was ordered by the British government to withdraw from Madrid, though not without taking the usual leave.

Unwilling-
ness of
France to
make war.

To this period Grimaldi acted consistently with the plan settled between him and De Choiseul, and if the French minister had been able to carry into effect the projects he recommended, hostilities would have been commenced without delay: but the French King, who had already experienced great difficulties in obtaining the sums requisite for the support of his dignity, and the pursuit of his pleasures, could not be induced to augment his inconveniences by entering into a war. The turbulence manifested by his subjects, on many occasions, formed a strong motive with him for avoiding a measure,

^y The dispatch containing this information was received the 19th of November, only three days before the Duke of Richmond's motion.

^z See Lord Weymouth's Letters, 23d and 28th Nov.

which, by increasing their burthens, would give additional force to their dissatisfaction.

C H A P.
XVIII.
1770.

The King of Spain having held a grand council, at which an ultimate proposition was decided on, sent an account of its result to the King of France, inviting his co-operation, should war be inevitable. But the party who acted in conjunction with Madame du Barry, and who depended on her influence over the King for the promotion of their views, now acquired a sufficient ascendancy to procure the dismissal of the Duc de Choiseul, and thus destroyed every hope which the King of Spain entertained of deriving assistance from France.

In consequence of information imparted by Maserano of his having fresh proposals to make, Mr. Harris received orders to return to the court of Madrid, invested with the authorities of minister-plenipotentiary; and in a short time it was finally agreed, that Spain should restore to the King of Great Britain the possession of the Great Malouine, or Falkland's Island, in the same situation it was at the time when the garrison was expelled; but this restitution was not to affect any claim of right which His Catholic Majesty might have to the sovereignty of that territory. The King of Spain in this declaration explicitly disavowed the violent enterprize of Buccarelli.^b

18th Jan.
1771.
Concession
of Spain,
22d.

^a From private information.

^b See Journals, and Debates for the papers referred to in the narrative; and see Johnson's Pamphlet, and the Annual Register for 1771. This unexpected termination of the dispute gave rise to various speculations. The resignation of Lord Weymouth occasioned a report that he was dissatisfied with the want of vigour which prevailed in the cabinet, and resigned because the ministry would not comply with his suggestions, which tended to an immediate declaration of war: but this is absolutely unfounded, for the first measure of Lord Rochford was to recal Mr. Harris. It is also averred that a private extra-official negotiation was conducted between the cabinets of London and Versailles, and terms of accommodation treated of by means of a French agent; but this assertion is also erroneous. See Governor Pownall's speech in the House of Commons, 18th February 1771. The island was in consequence of this arrangement surrendered in the most honourable manner to the British forces (16th September 1771); but as the nature and value of the possession were now thoroughly understood, it was in less than two years completely evacuated, (22d April 1773.) This circumstance has led to an insinuation that the abandonment

C H A P.

XVIII.

1771.

Changes in
the ministry.
12th Jan.

1771.

22d.

23d.

During this negotiation several changes took place, by which the ministry acquired additional strength. Lord Weymouth resigned the seals, which were given to Lord Rochford. Sir Edward Hawke quitting his place of first lord of the Admiralty, was succeeded by the Earl of Sandwich; the Earl of Halifax, taking the office of secretary of state for the northern department, which became vacant by this removal, resigned his place of lord privy-seal to the Earl of Suffolk. Mr. Bathurst was created Baron Apsley, and appointed lord-chancellor; Sir William de Grey was made chief justice of the Common Pleas; Mr. Thurlow attorney-general, and Mr. Wedderburne solicitor-general and cofferer to the Queen. Several members of both Houses, who were personally attached to the late Mr. Grenville^c and had been violent in opposition, now also joined the ministerial standard.

Dispute
between the
two Houses.

10th Dec.

1770.

An incident which occurred before the recess occasioned an animosity between the two Houses, which continued during the remainder of the session. The Duke of Manchester made a motion for an address for accelerating the preparations for war, and putting the West India possessions, and Gibraltar, in a proper state of defence. He was proceeding to descant on the insecure condition of that fortress, and reflecting on the criminal negligence of ministers, when he was suddenly interrupted, and a motion made to clear the house. The reasons for this measure were founded on the impropriety of suffering a proposition of which no previous notice had been given, to be

of the possession was stipulated by secret articles, but this was not the fact; the British forces left their flag flying and large sheets of lead fixed up, with engraved inscriptions, proclaiming to all nations that Faekland's Islands, with the store-houses and all their appurtenances, were the sole right and property of the King of Great Britain. It is indeed true, that the intention of retaining this unimportant possession was renounced by Great Britain, and the Spanish minister was so apprized pending the negotiation. But there was no secret article on the subject; nor was the place ever surrendered to Spain.

^c He died 13th November 1770.

discussed in the presence of strangers, when the objects of it were such as to disclose the nakedness and weakness of the nation. Lord Chatham and the Duke of Richmond resisted; but a violent clamour of "clear the house," prevented them from obtaining a hearing. Being highly irritated, they with their friends, in number about eighteen, retired in a body, alleging the folly and idleness of attending there, when they were denied the privilege of lords of parliament, and not permitted the exercise of free debate. Immediately afterward several members of the lower house, who attended with a bill, were ordered to depart. In vain they represented that the performance of their duty obliged them to remain; they were compelled to retire till their message was delivered, then re-admitted with their bill, and as soon as that ceremony was performed, ordered again to withdraw. Inflamed with indignation, they returned to their own house, and made an angry representation of the transaction; the seceding lords were present, hearing the debates, and the first effort of resentment in the Commons, was inconsiderately directed against them. The standing order was read, and though the suggestion was opposed by a majority, they were obliged to quit the house. Sixteen peers entered a protest on the journals, and several ineffectual motions were made in the lower house to procure an inquiry and discussion; but the only result was a sullen hostility between the two Houses. The Lords gave strict orders that no strangers should for the future be admitted, except commoners who attended to present bills, and they were to depart when they had made the usual obeisance. The Commons, in the course of the session, abated the rigour of exclusion, but the Lords remained inflexible.^d

11th Dec.

^d Debates, Journals, Annual Register, 1771, p. 37. The debates were carried on with so much acrimony, and gave rise to such personal reflections, as to occasion a duel between Lord George Germaine and Governor Johnstone, in which Lord George was slightly wounded in the hand.

C H A P.

XVIII.

22d Jan.

1771.

Debate on
the termin-
ation of the
Spanish
contest.

25th.

The negotiation respecting Falkland's Islands was adjusted only a few hours before the meeting of parliament, after the recess. Lord North informed the House of the event, and on a subsequent day laid before them Maserano's declaration, and Lord Rochford's acceptance. The opposition strenuously disapproved of the termination of the dispute, assigning to the ministers and their friends, every fault and impropriety of conduct which could be alleged in such a transaction. Among other things it was averred, that the nation was not only exposed to contempt abroad, but left a prey to jobbers and sharpers at home. "A French secretary," Colonel Barré observed to the ministry, "being in your secrets, has made near half a million of money by gambling in your funds; and some of the highest among yourselves have been deeply concerned in the same scandalous traffic." A motion was made and carried in both houses for an address to the King, requesting the communication of papers for elucidating the transaction; and the production of these documents occasioned several discussions. The Duke of Newcastle moved for an address of approbation, which was carried after a vehement contest; and a protest, consisting of eleven articles, signed by eighteen peers, and one signed by Lord Radnor singly, were entered on the journals.

14th Feb.

18th Feb.

5th March.

The debates were no less strenuously maintained in the Commons; the motion of thanks occasioned a very animated discussion, but the question was at length carried^e. A motion, introduced by a long speech, was afterward made by Governor Pownall, to censure ministry for not having demanded an explanation of the oath of office, taken by the Spanish governors in America, in virtue of which the conduct of Buccarelli was justified; but it was over-ruled.^f

^e 271 to 157.^f 130 to 43.

The popularity of Junius's Letters induced several booksellers, proprietors of periodical works, to republish them. Mr. Woodfall was tried for printing in the Public Advertiser one of these letters which was deemed a libel, and Mr. Almon was tried for republishing the same letter in a monthly miscellany, called the London Museum. Almon's case came first under investigation, and the jury found him *guilty of publishing*. The verdict against Woodfall was, *guilty of printing and publishing only*. Almon's counsel moved for a new trial, on the ground of the evidence being insufficient to prove any *criminal intention*, or even any *knowledge* of the London Museum being sold at his shop. Affidavits were exhibited to prove that the compilation in question was the property of another bookseller named Miller; sent to Almon's shop without his privity; sold by his servant without consulting him; and that he had immediately on discovering the fact, prevented the further sale. One of the jury also tendered an affidavit of his having joined in the verdict under the influence of mistake, as he had incorrectly conceived a point of law; but this affidavit was of course refused by the court. It appeared from the report of the trial, read by Lord Mansfield, that in giving his charge to the jury, he said there was evidence of the publication if they believed the witness; and directed them, if they were not satisfied that the blanks in the information were filled up according to the true sense and meaning of the writer, to acquit the defendant: the epithets false, scandalous, and malicious, used in the information, were inferences of law, drawn from the paper itself; and not facts to be proved. After the case had been ably argued by counsel, and time taken by the court to consider, they gave an unanimous opinion, that none of the matters urged on behalf of the defendant, nor all of them added together, were reasons for granting a new trial. In Woodfall's case two motions were made: the first by the defendant to stay the entering up of judgment on the verdict;

C H A P.
XVIII.

Trials of
printers.
13th June
1770.

2d June
1770.

19th June
1770.

27th June
1770.

22d June
1770.

C H A P.

XVIII.

8d July and
20th Nov.

1770.

the other by the attorney-general, for entering a verdict according to the legal import of the finding of the jury. This latter motion was first discussed, and Lord Mansfield, in reporting the proceedings, stated his directions to the jury in these terms: "To consider whether all the inuendos, and all the applications to matter and persons made by the information, were, in their judgment, the true meaning of the paper? If they thought otherwise, to acquit the defendant; but if they agreed with the information, and believed the evidence as to the publication, they should find him guilty. Whether the paper was in law a libel, was a question of law upon the face of the record, for after conviction a defendant might move in arrest of judgment if the paper was not a libel: the epithets in the information were formal inferences of law from printing and publishing; no proof of express malice was ever required, and it is in most cases impossible to be given. Where an act, in itself indifferent, if done with particular intent, becomes criminal, there the intent must be proved and found; but where the act is itself unlawful, as in this case, the proof of justification lies on the defendant; and in failure thereof, the law implies a criminal intent." The Court agreed in this opinion, but from the ambiguous use of the word *only* in the verdict, ordered a new trial.^s

The sentiments delivered by Lord Mansfield on this and similar occasions, produced much discussion among lawyers, as well as the public at large, and soon became an object of parliamentary animadversion. The ground taken in opposition to the sentiments of the lord chief justice, promised a great share of popularity; the trial by jury is generally and deservedly, dear to the nation, and every attempt to abridge the

^s See Burrow's Reports, vol. v. 2661, 2086; Reports of these trials in separate pamphlets, and the periodical publications; Letters to Mr. Almon in matter of libel; and Robert Morris's Letter to Sir William Aston.

powers or restrain the decisions of that inestimable tribunal, excites horror from its manifest tendency to encroach on, and ultimately destroy, every valuable charter and social immunity. Libelling was the darling offence of the day, and when in impeding a practice so dangerous, it became necessary for the nobleman at the head of the common law, to assume a technical principle expressly repugnant to the course of popular predilection, and assailable by a number of specious arguments calculated for the level of every understanding, he exposed himself to a most unequal and dangerous contest: his opponents were secure of popularity; and the obloquy attending his doctrine was sufficient to deter many from espousing, and more from publicly avowing their assent to his opinion. All the judges of the court of King's Bench, and the majority of eminent lawyers, agreed with Lord Mansfield; the public was decidedly hostile, and the transaction occasioned differences of opinion among the professors of the law, which can never be thoroughly reconciled.

In the Upper House, the discussion was brought forward by Lord Chatham, who took occasion to digress from a business then in agitation, for the purpose of expressing his sentiments on the modern manner of directing juries from the bench. Lord Mansfield candidly and explicitly avowed the practice; shewing it to be founded on reason, and ancient usage. He declared his opinion, "That a libel or not a libel, was a matter of law to be decided by the bench, and the question to be left to the jury, was only the fact of printing and publishing." Lord Chatham and Lord Camden both expressed astonishment and abhorrence at this doctrine, but the House returned to the more immediate object of discussion.

Perhaps this debate, thus irregularly introduced, was principally designed to extract from the lord chief-justice a clear and irrevocable avowal of his judgment

28th Nov.
1770.
Discussion
of Lord
Mansfield's
doctrine in
the House
of Lords.

C H A P.

XVIII.

Serjeant
Glynn's
motion.
3d Dec.
1770.

6th Dec.
1770.

in order to afford the better foundation to a motion which Serjeant Glynn had then in contemplation to make, and of which in a few days he gave notice. It was for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the administration of criminal justice, and the proceedings of the judges in Westminster Hall, particularly in cases relating to the liberty of the press, and the constitutional power and duty of juries. This motion was supported by all the talents of opposition, and no argument or mode of expression omitted which would inflame the public mind, or cast disgrace on the character of Lord Mansfield. Serjeant Glynn affirmed, that a general belief prevailed of the judges being unfriendly to juries, encroaching on their constitutional power, and laying down false law in order to mislead them in their verdicts. A great display of legal knowledge was made by the serjeant and Mr. Dunning in supporting the motion; they were combated by De Grey, the attorney-general, and Sir Gilbert Elliot; and Lord Mansfield's character was strenuously and honourably defended by Lord Clare and Mr. Jenkinson. The conduct of Wedderburne and Burke was highly honourable; for while they supported the motion, they disclaimed and reprobated all those asperities of diction which had been used in speaking of the lord chief-justice, and paid the merited tribute of applause to his extraordinary talents, and conspicuous integrity. The motion was lost by a large majority.^h

Lord Mans-
field leaves
paper with
the clerk of
the House
of Lords.
7th Dec.
1770.

It now became indispensably necessary for Lord Mansfield to place his sentiments in so clear a view, that they should no longer be subject to misrepresentation, and for that purpose he demanded a call of the House. As he did not state precisely what were his motives for this measure, great expectations were entertained, of his intending voluntarily to defend his own conduct, and explain the grounds and

^h 184 to 76. It is to be observed, that this debate took place before the changes in the ministry already noticed.

authorities which served as a basis for his opinion. But he had no such intention, nor was it requisite, or even prudent for him to undertake the task : he delivered to the clerk of the House, for the information of the members, a copy of the unanimous opinion of the court of King's Bench in Woodfall's case ; a paper drawn with great precision, and containing in small compass the merits and the law. Lord Camden inquired if this paper was to be entered on the journals, but being answered in the negative, on the following day attempted to renew the discussion. He considered the paper left by Lord Mansfield as a direct challenge to him, and proposed six interrogatories, which the chief-justice very properly declined answering. After some ineffectual endeavours to engage Lord Mansfield in a discussion of the question, it was left for the decision of the courts of law : a motion afterward made in the Lower House, for leave to bring in a bill to ascertain the powers of juries in case of libels, was over-ruled.ⁱ

C H A P.
XVIII.
11th Dec.
1770.

12th.

6th Mar.
1771.

One of the most extraordinary subjects which for a long time occupied the attention of Parliament, presented itself this session. A petition was lodged against Hugh Roberts, the returning officer of New Shoreham, for returning a candidate with only thirty-seven votes, in prejudice of another who had eighty-seven, although he had queried seventy-six of the number. In his defence the officer disclosed a shocking and disgusting scene of venality, perjury, and hypocrisy. A majority of the freemen formed themselves into an association, denominated the *Christian Club* : the pretended motives of their confederacy were piety and charity ; the real purpose, corruption. They made a traffic of their oaths and consciences, offered the borough for sale to the highest bidder, and utterly precluded the

Disfranchisement
of New
Shoreham.

ⁱ 218 to 72. The motion was made by Mr. Dowdeswell, and a draft of the intended bill, forming the basis of one afterward introduced by Mr. Fox, may be seen in Rivington's Annual Register for 1791, p. 138.

C H A P.

XVIII.

1771.

other freemen from any beneficial exercise of their franchise. They were bound to secrecy and to each other by oaths, writings, and bonds with large penalties, and carried on their negotiations by means of a select committee, who, under pretence of scruples of conscience, never voted at elections themselves; but having sold the borough, and received the stipulated price, directed the suffrages of the rest, relying on this complicated effort of fraud to prevent detection, and enjoy without remorse the fruits of their dishonesty. At a late vacancy, occasioned by the death of Sir Stephen Cornish, five candidates appeared for the borough, and a committee of five was appointed by the club to treat for the sale. General Smith, one of the candidates, offered three thousand pounds, and to build at Shoreham six hundred tons of shipping. Mr. Rumbold offered thirty-five pounds a man, to all the freemen; his proposal was accepted, but his agent was directed not to take notice of voters who were not of the club. The returning officer who had been a member of this society, and was well acquainted with their measures, having taken umbrage at some of their proceedings, determined to thwart and oppose them. He therefore obtained the opinion of counsel, and although the majority of voters took the oaths against bribery and corruption, he considered them disqualified, and made his return accordingly. As the select committee appointed under Mr. Grenville's act, could not take proper cognizance of these flagitious transactions, they reported them to the House, and Roberts was ordered to attend at the bar. His defence not appearing sufficient intirely to exculpate him, though his conduct was acknowledged to be founded on proper principles, he was reprimanded by the Speaker, and discharged. The circumstances thus disclosed were afterward taken into consideration, evidence examined, and a bill brought

7th Feb.

18th,

in, by which, after several alterations, amendments, and debates, eighty-one freemen of Shoreham, named in the bill, were disfranchised, and rendered incapable of voting at any election of members of Parliament, and the right of electing members for that borough extended to all the freeholders in the Rape of Bramber in the county of Sussex, who had tenements of the annual value of forty shillings. This measure was by some considered too lenient, and proposals made utterly to disfranchise the borough, but the precedent was thought dangerous; others, on the contrary, were desirous to limit the punishment to the operations of law on the guilty individuals, but this was rejected, as affording, from the difficulty of obtaining legal evidence, a prospect of certain immunity.^k

C H A P.
XVIII.
1771.

In the course of the session, several attempts were made by the opposition to introduce popular laws, and raise popular questions. A bill was brought into the House of Commons for repealing a clause in the Nullum Tempus act; it was read twice, but lost on the third reading by an inconsiderable majority^l. The Duke of Richmond moved the House of Lords to reverse its resolution of not impeaching, directly or indirectly, the judgment of the House of Commons, in the Middlesex election; Lord Chatham moved for an address, praying the King to dissolve the Parliament; and Alderman Sawbridge, in the Lower House, made a motion to shorten the duration of Parliaments. All these efforts were unsuccessful; but Alderman Sawbridge renewed his motion in every session till his death.

27th Feb.

30th April.

1st May.

^k Debates; Annual Register, 1771, p. 54; History of the Boroughs, &c. of Great Britain, vol. iii. p. 52; article Shoreham.

^l 164 to 155.

CHAPTER THE NINETEENTH.

1771—1772.

Dispute between the House of Commons and the city. — Publication of debates. — Colonel Onslow's complaint of a breach of privilege. — Printers ordered to attend at the bar — their contumacy — order for taking them into custody — proclamation — they are arrested and discharged. — Complaint against other printers — their conduct. — Conduct of the minority. — The messenger arrested — carried before the lord-mayor — and holden to bail. — Proceedings in the House of Commons. — Alderman Oliver and the lord-mayor committed to the Tower. — Zeal of the populace. — Proceedings of the common council. — Address of Wilkes in eluding the resentment of Parliament. — Committee appointed — their report. — Debates on the Durham Yard Bill. — End of the session. — City petition — the King's answer. — Divisions in the City party. — Death of the Earl of Halifax — and consequent changes in administration. — Meeting of Parliament. — Augmentation of naval establishment. — Petition for relief from subscription to the articles of religion — motion to bring it in rejected. — Church Nullum Tempus. — Dr. Nowell's sermon on King Charles's martyrdom — debates on expunging the vote of thanks to him. — Motion for abrogating the observance of the thirtieth of January. — Efforts of the dissenters. — Motion to repeal the test laws. — Bill passes the Lower House — but is rejected by the Lords. — Marriage of the King's brothers. — The King's message to Parliament. — Royal marriage bill — passes the Lords — protest — passes the Commons. — Close of the session. — Strength of administration. — Misfortunes in the royal family. — Death of the Princess Dowager of Wales. — Revolution in Denmark.

CHAP.
XIX.

1771.
Dispute
between
the House
of Com-
mons and
the city.

THE disposition to oppose the proceedings of the legislature, which had long distinguished the city of London, still prevailed, and produced a contest between the House of Commons and the lord-mayor, which is curious in its progress, and memorable from the result.

Notwithstanding the known law and privilege of parliament, the printers of certain newspapers were in the habit of detailing the debates of both Houses. These communications were highly gratifying to the public, and the success of a newspaper was principally dependent on the reports of parliamentary proceedings. But as all these papers were devoted to the purposes of party, little care was taken to impart a just detail of the speeches, and they were frequently misrepresented in a manner which could hardly be considered accidental. The only effectual remedy for this grievance, was a general inforcement of the senatorial privilege: for if the House admitted the right of the printers to report correctly, and left to individuals the task of appealing to the courts of law against false statements, the proceeding would have been found circuitous, uncertain and dangerous. The other mode had been frequently followed; the printers were summoned to the bar, and fined or reprimanded according to the nature of their demerits.

In this session, Colonel George Onslow made a complaint to the House of Thompson and Wheble, two publishers of newspapers for misrepresenting the speeches, and reflecting on several of the members. The obnoxious passages being read by the clerk, Colonel Onslow moved that the printers should be brought to justice, for infringing the standing order. This practice, it was observed, had attained an infamous height; members were represented to the world as uttering sentiments they never pronounced; and their characters were often by these means degraded in the opinions of their constituents. The practice had not prevailed in former times: even during the most violent opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, no transactions or speeches were published, except during the intervals of parliament, and then only in a decent manner: and it was now absolutely

9th Feb.
Colonel
Onslow's
complaint
of a breach
of privilege.

C H A P.
XIX.

1771.

Printers
ordered to
attend at
the bar.

Their con-
tumacy.
19th.
21st.
26th.
Order for
taking them
in custody.

Proclama-
tion for ap-
prehending
them.
4th March.

necessary either to punish the offenders severely, or reverse the standing order.

The motion was combated by an assertion, that the ministerial papers were no less abusive than those devoted to the opposition; it was argued, that the imparting to constituents the parliamentary behaviour of their representatives, was founded on the truest principles of the constitution, and misrepresentations ought to be punished legally, on complaint from the individual affected, and not by the hand of power, and weight of the legislature, whose exercise of authority is always odious and oppressive. Colonel Onslow's motion was however carried^a, and the printers ordered to attend at the bar of the House.

The execution of this order was adjourned several times, and when the House demanded the appearance of the printers, it was discovered that their last order of adjournment had not been served. Another excuse of the same kind was admitted; but the parties still remaining in a state of contumacy, the serjeant at arms was directed to take them into custody. This order was not obtained without a violent debate: the number of the minority was inconsiderable^b, but the arguments used in the House, and the time which elapsed from the first agitation of the business, occasioned many discussions both in conversation and in print, and enabled the party in the city who were desirous of opposing government, to concert a plan of operations.

When the serjeant at arms went to the houses of the parties, they were constantly denied, and the servants accompanied their answers with contemptuous sneers; which being reported to the House, Mr. Onslow moved for an address to the King, to issue a proclamation, with a reward to any person who should apprehend the offenders. In consequence of

^a 90 to 55.

^b 17 to 160.

this proclamation, Mr. Wheble was taken by one Carpenter, a printer, and carried before Alderman Wilkes, who not only discharged him, but took recognizances for prosecuting the person by whom he was apprehended. Mr. Wilkes wrote in justification of this conduct to the Earl of Halifax, secretary of state, observing that the proclamation did not charge Mr. Wheble with any crime, and by taking him into custody, the rights of an Englishman, as well as the chartered privileges of the city, were grossly violated. Mr. Thompson, another printer, was similarly arrested, and discharged by Alderman Oliver. Both aldermen gave certificates to the persons who apprehended Wheble and Thompson, testifying that they had brought before them the persons indicated in the proclamation, and were entitled to the reward; but the collusion was so palpable that the lords of the Treasury refused payment.^c

As it was, before this period, apparent, from the conduct of Thompson and Wheble, that they would escape the intended punishment. Colonel Onslow preferred a fresh complaint against six other printers for the same offence, and, after a considerable opposition, they were ordered to appear at the bar. On the appointed day, four presented themselves; three were reprimanded and discharged^d; the case of one was adjourned^e; a fifth could not attend, being in custody in Newgate by order of the House of Lords^f; the other, whose name was Miller, refused to obey the summons, and, on the motion of Mr. Onslow,

CHAP.
XIX.

1771.
15th.
They are
arrested and
discharged.

Complaint
against other
printers.
12th March.

14th.
Their con-
duct.

Contumacy
of Miller.

^c Mr. Dowdeswell attempted to interest the House of Commons in Carpenter's behalf, and received the following humorous answer from Wedderburne: "As to the affair of Mr. Twyne Carpenter, I can see no reason for supporting him: as I understand it, the man is Mr. Wheble's devil. Wheble was arrested by his own devil; he was discharged from the illegal arrest of this devil; the devil was bound over to answer, whether printer beats devil, or devil beats printer, is of no consequence; there may be the devil to do; there will be the devil to pay; if the devil has had the reward that was advertised, the devil has fairly outwitted the noble lord near me: whether he has, or not, I do not know, but I hope this House will have nothing to do with him."

^d Baldwin, Wright, and Bladon.

^e Evans.

^f W. Woodfall.

C H A P. an order was issued for taking him into custody by
XIX. the serjeant at arms.

1771.
Conduct of
the mino-
rity.

The mes-
senger
arrested.

Carried
before the
lord mayor ;

In these transactions the minority showed a deter-
mined spirit of opposition, and professed a resolution
to harass the House by frequent motions of adjourn-
ment and amendment ; on the first debate they di-
vided the House three-and-twenty times ; on the last
thirteen. This proceeding gave additional courage
to their adherents in the city, and accordingly on the
next day the finesse of arresting Thompson and
Wheble took place. The order for taking Mr. Miller
into custody being previously made, could not be pre-
vented ; but a plan was laid for resisting the effect of
the speaker's warrant, and disgracing the officers of
the House of Commons. When the messenger ap-
peared, Miller refused to submit to the arrest, and
violence being used, a constable, prepared for the
purpose, took charge of the officer, and carried him
to Guildhall, to answer for the assault. Mr. Wilkes,
the sitting alderman, having finished the business of
the day, refused to take cognizance of the affair, and
the parties were conducted to the Mansion-house.
The lord mayor, Brass Crosby, was indisposed, and
therefore deferred the business till six o'clock in the
evening^s, in which interval, the messenger sent for
Mr. Clementson, deputy serjeant at arms. At six
o'clock the lord mayor, attended by Aldermen Wilkes
and Oliver, admitted the parties ; Mr. Miller made
his complaint, and the lord mayor asked the mes-
senger what offence the printer had committed, and
by what authority he presumed to assault him ? The
officer pleaded that he acted under the direction of the
speaker, and produced his warrant. The deputy-
serjeant, who waited to hear what were the circum-
stances alleged as an assault, now announced himself,
and said he came there by the speaker's command,
to demand, not only the messenger, but Miller his

■ It was about three when they came to the Mansion-house.

prisoner; and he did demand them in the most solemn manner. After some observations on the impropriety of arresting a citizen, by any person who was neither peace-officer nor constable, and on the violation of the charters by a caption, made without the knowledge or authority of the lord mayor, Mr. Clementson's application was refused, and Mr. Miller discharged. The assault was next proved, which consisted in taking Miller by the arm, in order to bring him before the House of Commons. The messenger, by Mr. Clementson's direction, refused to give bail to answer this complaint, and a warrant for committing him to the compter was signed by the lord mayor and the two aldermen. When the matter had proceeded to this extremity, and the officers were ready to take away the messenger, bail was given.

C H A P.
XIX.
1771.

and holden
to bail.

The deputy-serjeant at arms immediately related these transactions, which were received with great indignation by the House. Orders were issued for the lord mayor and Alderman Oliver to attend in their places, and Mr. Wilkes at the bar. Mr. Crosby, in his defence, alleged that his oath as an alderman of London, obliged him to defend the charters of the city, which he produced, and required to be heard by counsel. This proposition was strongly enforced by Alderman Trecothick, Sir Joseph Mawbey, and others, but rejectedⁿ, though an order was afterward made that he might be heard by counsel on all points which did not controvert the privileges of the House: the lord mayor's clerk was also directed to attend with the book of minutes, and the recognizance entered into for the messenger's appearance was erased.

Proceedings
in the
House of
Commons.

19th and
20th.

After some delays, occasioned by Mr. Crosby's illness, he was heard in his own defence, having refused the indulgence of counsel, on account of the limitation with which it was conceded, and of the

25th.
Act of the
lord mayor
declared
breaches of
privilege.

C H A P.

XIX.

1771.

absence of all those of whose assistance he was particularly desirous. The evidence being concluded, the House, after a debate which lasted till near one o'clock in the morning, resolved, "That to release a person taken by virtue of the speaker's warrant; to apprehend the messenger of the House for executing his warrant; and to hold the messenger to bail for such pretended assault, were all breaches of privilege."

Oliver.

It was then proposed to proceed against Mr. Oliver. A motion of adjournment was made on account of the lateness of the hour, but negatived^k. The alderman, being called on for his defence, said, "he owned and gloried in the fact laid to his charge; he knew that whatever punishment was intended, nothing he could say would avert it; as for himself he was perfectly unconcerned; and, as he expected little from their justice, he defied their power." A motion being made for committing him to the Tower, Colonel Barré, after a violent and indignant speech, quitted the House, attended by above twenty-five or thirty members. An amendment was moved, to place the delinquent members in custody of the serjeant at arms, instead of committing them to the Tower, which in all probability would have passed, had not Mr. Oliver pertinaciously refused making the slightest concession.^l

27th.

And the
lord mayor
committed
to the
Tower.

When the lord mayor again attended the House, all the avenues were beset by a clamorous and outrageous mob, who insulted several of the ministerial members, particularly Lord North and Mr. Fox; and defying the civil power, would probably have proceeded to the greatest outrages, had they not been tranquillized by some of the popular members. Several of the opposition party refused to appear in the House, and Sir George Savile and Mr. Burke re-

^k 214 to 97.

^l The question for his commitment was carried, 170 to 38.

tired before the debate; saying "they considered the refusal to hear the lord mayor by counsel, as a prohibition of justice." In consideration of his ill health, it was moved that Mr. Crosby should be taken into custody by the serjeant at arms, but he disdained the intended lenity. He said his health was considerably amended; he had no favour to ask of the House; and, in justice to his honourable friend, he ought to be sent to the Tower; he thought he had acted rightly, and on a similar occasion would adopt the same mode of conduct. An amendment was then moved, and after a debate which lasted till near midnight, he was committed to the Tower.

C H A P.
XIX.
1771.

The mob, considering the chief magistrate of the city as a martyr in the cause of freedom, took the horses from his carriage, and drew it to Temple Bar, where they shut the city gates, and insisted on the deputy-serjeant at arms quitting the coach, and proceeding no further: the lord mayor was obliged to interpose, and quiet them, by an assurance that the gentlemen by whom he was accompanied were his particular friends, and were escorting him home: at the mansion-house the populace retired, and Mr. Crosby went privately to the Tower. A few days afterward, the populace showed their indignation by hanging and beheading on Tower Hill, with many ignominious circumstances, effigies representing persons of high rank, who were inimical to their favourites.

Zeal of the
populace.

1st and 5th.
April.

The city zealously espoused the cause of their magistrates. At a court of common-council, convened at Guildhall, where Mr. Trecothick officiated as locum tenens for the lord mayor, public thanks in writing were voted to the chief magistrate and the two aldermen; a committee of four aldermen and eight commoners was appointed to assist in their defence before the House, and empowered to employ such counsel as should be thought fit, and to draw on the chamber of London for any sum not exceeding

Proceedings
of the court
of common
council.
19th and
21st March.

C H A P. XIX. 1771.
 3d April. 5th. 22d and 30th April. 8th May.

five hundred pounds. When Crosby and Oliver were in custody, and these exertions could be no longer beneficial, the committee ordered the expences of their table to be paid by the city; writs of habeas corpus were by their instructions sued out, and the prisoners separately conveyed before Lord Mansfield, and Lord Chief Justice de Grey; counsel attended, but after a full hearing, the judges declared themselves not authorized to interfere, and the prisoners were remanded. In the ensuing term they were again brought, by writs of habeas corpus, before the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer, but in both, the Bench declared themselves unable to reverse the proceedings of the House of Commons, and the prisoners were therefore obliged to remain in custody till the prorogation of parliament, which in course terminated their captivity. Their discharge was celebrated with illuminations and public rejoicings; they were, by order of the common-council, attended from the Tower to the Mansion-house, by a magnificent procession of city officers in their robes; while a large concourse of people testified unbounded exultation.

Address of Wilkes.

19th March, 20th and 24th.

Mr. Wilkes alone escaped with impunity: by a letter to the speaker he refused to appear in the house, unless called to his place as member for Middlesex. Other orders for his attendance being likewise disregarded, the House was embarrassed: Mr. Wilkes's partizans urged the propriety of vindicating the dignity of parliament, and not permitting him to escape, while his fellow-delinquents were subjected to such severe punishment; but the ministry, apprehensive of exposing themselves in a further contest with such an opponent, evaded all further discussion of the point, by an expedient, in which conveniency was consulted more than dignity: an order was passed for the attendance of Mr. Wilkes on the eighth of April, and the House adjourned till the ninth.

28th Mar. Committee appointed.

A secret committee of twenty-one members was appointed for the purpose of asserting and maintaining

the dignity of parliament: they sat with great diligence and perseverance upwards of a month. Great expectations were formed of the result of their deliberations, and the friends of the lord mayor and alderman were preparing themselves accordingly; but when the report was presented, it merely recommended that Miller should again be taken into custody by the serjeant at arms. The report was successfully ridiculed by Mr. Burke, and a motion of thanks to the committee, made in such a burlesque style, that Lord North moved an adjournment. No further attempt was made against Miller, and from this period the publishers of newspapers, and other periodical works have been in the constant habit of detailing the proceedings of both Houses of Parliament.^m

Another occasion of contest between the city and the legislature arose in the bill for enabling certain persons to inclose and embank part of the river Thames adjoining to Durham Yard, Salisbury Street, Cecil Street, and Beaufort Buildings. The proposition was referred to a committee, who reported in its favour, and recommended that the bill should be brought in. The city, considering their property exposed to encroachment, were heard by counsel:

C H A P.

XIX.

1771.

30th April
Their report.Debates on
the Durham
Yard bill.
22d Feb.

^m See debates on the days mentioned in the margin; Annual Register, for 1771, chapter vi.; History of Lord North's Administration, p. 35 to 48; Reflections on the present dispute between the House of Commons and the magistrates of London; and many other pamphlets, and all the periodical works of the time.—Having related these transactions with a minuteness proportioned to their singularity and the importance of the result, it may be proper to make a few observations. A broad statement, that it is but right and decent for the constituents to have an opportunity of knowing what is said and done by their representatives, appears almost a truism: but the daily publication of debates on subjects yet undecided is often productive of bad effects, by inspiring exaggerated hopes and unfounded fears, and by inducing members to address their sentiments rather to the galleries than to the chair. The disposition to debate on all public affairs has perhaps been increased by this practice; but the disputants without doors are put much more on a level than formerly; every paper which contains the arguments of one side gives also the reply; whereas formerly, political disputes were only judged of by party pamphlets, and occasional publications of protests, and garbled debates. Every liberty may be perverted, and licentiousness may result from malice or from ignorance; but guarded as the members of parliament are, both by equal laws and exclusive privileges, they have little to fear from personal misrepresentation; and a moderate and timely exertion of the standing order to clear the house, when particular debates are expected, will always insure the nation against the effects of indiscreet publications of matters which ought to be kept secret.

C H A P.

XIX.

1771.
8th March.

they produced a grant of Henry VII. of all the soil and bed of the river from Staines Bridge to a place in Kent, near the Medway, and showed a lease granted by them, sixty-six years before this period, of a nook of the river at Vauxhall, under which they still continued to receive rent. On the other side a charter of Charles II. to the city was produced, in which he reserved the bed of the river, and it was contended that the city by receiving the latter grant, abandoned the former. The charter of Henry VII. extended only to the soil of the river within the city and suburbs; the lease of Vauxhall was a mere encroachment, and the right of the city was utterly denied. These arguments prevailed; the bill was committed, and passed both Houses; a protest was entered on the lords' journals, signed by three peers only. A magnificent pile of buildings, called the Adelphi, has been erected on the site.

8th May.
End of the
Session.

In the speech from the throne, which terminated this long and active session, the King congratulated the Houses on those exertions which had averted a war, and enabled him, with confidence, to promise a continuance of peace. He exhorted them to employ their best endeavours in rendering the national happiness complete, by discouraging and suppressing all groundless suspicions, and domestic disturbances. "I have no other object," he said, "and I can have no other interest, than to reign in the hearts of a free and happy people: and it is my earnest wish, that my subjects may not be prevented, by any mistakes, or animosities amongst themselves, from enjoying, in the fullest extent, the blessings of a mild and legal government. The support of our excellent constitution is our common duty and interest. By that standard I would wish my people to try all public principles and professions, and to look upon those as their most dangerous enemies, who, under any pretence, would persuade them to violate those laws, and undermine that authority which the constitution has provided

for the purpose of preserving the general liberty and happiness."

C H A R.

XIX.

1771.
City petition.
9th July.

During the recess, the city had recourse to the accustomed measure of addressing and petitioning the throne. Their intention being announced, the lord-chamberlain wrote to the lord mayor, informing him the livery could not be permitted to attend him to St. James's; and copies of this letter were posted in various parts of the city, under pretence of preventing the livery from assembling. A petition was presented, couched in the same language with others which had been previously addressed to the throne; it complained of the arbitrary, audacious, illegal, and wicked proceedings of the House of Commons, in imprisoning the city members, and procuring the Durham Yard Act; and prayed the King to give peace to the nation by a speedy dissolution of parliament, and by removing his present wicked and despotic ministers from his presence and councils for ever. The King, in answer, said, he was always ready to exert his constitutional prerogative in redressing real grievances, and the city of London should ever find him ready to listen to well-founded complaints; but he felt concern at seeing a part of his subjects still so misled and deluded, as to renew, in such reprehensible terms, a request with which he had repeatedly declared his resolution not to comply.

10th.

The King's answer.

At some preceding periods, this transaction would have created a considerable sensation; but the public now observed it without concern; the moment of delusion was past, and the schism among the city patriots, which was increased to a great degree of personal animosity, rendered their proceedings matter of indifference to all but themselves. Causes, which it is no longer important to ascertain, had created irreparable variances among the leaders of city politics: their public meetings were scenes of hostility, clamour, and recrimination; and the press teemed with their mutual abuse. The societies which they had instituted were either dissolved, or weakened by secessions

Division of the city party.

C H A P.
XIX.

1771.
11th April.
12th.

24th June.

5th July.

20th Sept.

Death of
Lord Hal-
fax, and
consequent
changes.
8th June,
12th.
1st.

and rivalships; while the popularity for which they were thus indecently contending was visibly and daily diminishing. During the confinement of the lord mayor, the ward of Farringdon strenuously recommended the election of Mr. Wilkes as sheriff, and he promised to accept the office if chosen. He thought proper to wait on Mr. Oliver, who was expected to be sheriff, and announced himself as a probable coadjutor. The imprisoned alderman was decidedly adverse to the measure, and, after remonstrating with him for a considerable time in vain, sent a letter to Mr. Wilkes's deputy, stating the total difference of their political views, and his resolution for that, and many other reasons, not to serve the office of sheriff with Wilkes. Notwithstanding this intimation, Mr. Wilkes persevered in offering himself a candidate, and at the close of the poll, he and Alderman Bull were returned by a large majorityⁿ. Before they entered on their office, the new sheriffs appealed to the prejudices of the people, in an address to the livery, declaring their resolution not to gratify an unprincipled administration, by permitting the military to attend the execution of the law on criminals. They afterward attempted to attract notice by some factitious frivolities, but the public no longer appeared interested in their manœuvres.^o

There was now, in fact, no plausible grievance to complain of; the ministry appeared more firmly united among themselves, and better supported than any preceding administration, and daily obtained new accessions of strength. During the recess, the office of

■ On this occasion the mob testified their approbation of Wilkes by burning in effigy John Horne, late rector of Brentford, who had of late distinguished himself ■ one of Wilkes's principal antagonists.

■ Wilkes sent ■ message (16th Oct.) to Alderman Nash, the lord mayor elect, requiring him not to give any *French wine* at the entertainments at the Old Bailey; the alderman very properly answered, that ■ Mr. Wilkes claimed ■ right of giving what he pleased, he could have no pretence for invading the privilege of another. The sheriffs, at the beginning of the session (23d October), affected to gratify the populace by throwing open the doors and galleries at the Old Bailey, and not permitting money to be received by the door-keepers; but this had no other effect than disturbing the order of the court, and incommoding the grand jury.

secretary of state, vacated by the death of the Earl of Halifax, was conferred on the Earl of Suffolk, and his place of lord privy-seal was accepted by the Duke of Grafton; Lord Hyde succeeded on the death of Lord Strange to the chancellorship of the duchy of Lancaster; but these changes made no alteration in the political system of administration.

As no public business claimed particular attention, the parliament did not meet before the holidays. The King's speech contained no topic of importance, and the addresses in both Houses were agreed to without a division. The first debate in the House of Commons was occasioned by the motion to vote twenty-five thousand seamen for the service of the current year. In support of this large establishment, the state of our possessions and relations in all quarters of the globe was displayed. In India the French maintained a considerable navy, which they had recently augmented, and the defence of our settlements rendered it necessary to create a superior force. The apprehensions for the West Indies, during the late reported rupture, obliged the ministry to secure Jamaica, by maintaining an establishment sufficient to act as a check on Spain. The war between Russia and the Turks made British property insecure in the Mediterranean, unless protected in a more effective manner than usual; and it was represented as a great advantage to have a considerable naval armament always in a state of preparation.

These arguments were combated by Admirals Keppel and Saunders, who affirmed the equipment to be too small if there was a probability of war, too large if a certainty of peace; they arraigned and condemned the whole disposition and management of the navy. The ministry were accused, by other members, of making the King's speech full of peace, and in a few days preparing for war; the expence of the additional establishment was estimated at 500,000*l.* and no argument could be adduced in fa-

C H A P.
XIX.

1771.
12th June.

21st Jan.
1772.
Meeting of
parliament.
29th.

Augmenta-
tion of the
naval estab-
lishment.

C H A P.

XIX.

1772.

vour of this augmentation, which would not, with equal propriety, apply to any other year. Lord North observed the armament in India was necessary, not only to cope with the French, but as a check on the conduct of the Company's officers, of whose peculation and misconduct he grievously complained; and he promised in a year to have eighty ships of the line fit for service, which would at any time be a superior force to the French and Spaniards united. This measure was adopted.

Petition for
relief from
subscription
to the ar-
ticles of re-
ligion.
6th Feb.

Several attempts were made in this session to effect general or particular alterations in the constitution and regulations of the church. Among the earliest was the motion by Sir William Meredith, for leave to bring up a petition from some of the clergy, and of the two professions of civil law and physic, praying relief from the subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles. The intention of the petitioners was well known; they had long held assemblies at the Feathers Tavern, and, by public advertisement, invited all who considered themselves aggrieved by the laws relative to subscription, to unite in their efforts for obtaining redress. Their proceedings occasioned some animadversion, and the press was employed in impugning and vindicating their intentions. The members therefore came to the House fully prepared on the subject, aware of its introduction, of the strength of argument by which the petition could be supported, and of the influence by which it was to be sustained.

The paper presented to the House, claimed for the petitioners certain rights and privileges, held of God only, and subject to his authority alone; but from which they were in a great measure precluded by the laws of subscription, which required them to acknowledge certain articles and confessions of faith drawn up by fallible men, to be all and every of them agreeable to the Scriptures. Independently of the encroachment on their rights, they represented

the subscription as injurious to the Christian religion, by precluding inquiry into the true sense of the Scripture; by enabling unbelievers to reproach the clergy with prevarication and flexibility to objects of lucre or political consideration; by affording to Papists the advantage of reflecting on the religious establishment as inconsistently framed; by dividing the clergy; and by occasioning scruples and embarrassment of conscience to thoughtful and worthy persons, in regard to entrance into the ministry, or cheerful continuance in the exercise of it. The clerical part of the petitioners complained of being obliged to *join issue* with the adversaries of Revelation, by supposing the true sense of Scripture to be expressed in the established system of faith, or else to incur the reproach of having departed from their subscriptions, the suspicion of insincerity, and the repute of being ill affected to the church, whereby their utility among their flocks and their success against the enemies of Christianity, were generally obstructed. The petitioners educated with a view to the professions of civil law and physic, complained of being obliged at their first admission or matriculation in the university, to subscribe unfeigned assent to a variety of theological propositions, which, from their immature age and want of leisure, they could not be supposed to have duly examined, and they all complained of the injury posterity would sustain in being irrevocably bound to the tenets of an age less enlightened than their own. In conclusion they professed a full recognition of the King's supremacy, and an abhorrence of popery, and prayed to be relieved from an obligation so incompatible with the right of private judgment, so pregnant with danger to true religion, and so productive of distress to many pious and conscientious men; submitting their cause, under God, to the wisdom and justice of a British Parliament and the piety of a Protestant King.

C H A P.
XIX.
1772.

C H A P.

XIX.

1772.

The motion for receiving this petition was seconded by Mr. Thomas Pitt. Sir William Meredith stated it as repugnant to the liberality of sentiment prevalent in this age, to oblige people to subscribe to the truth of articles which they could not believe ; such a necessity produced habits of prevarication and licentiousness in the church, and had a tendency to destroy Christian charity. The establishment, he contended, would, by the proposed reformation, acquire a firmness which nothing could shake.

The reception of the petition was opposed on various grounds, and with great diversity of argument, which occasioned a long and desultory debate. Sir Roger Newdigate deprecated the measure, as tending to destroy the very being of the church of England ; reproached the clergy with signing such a petition, after they had subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles ; ridiculed their alleged scruples of conscience, and said it was such tender consciences that, in the last century, subverted the church. He denied the power of the House to dispense with oaths, or receive a petition which would be a direct breach of the articles of union between England and Scotland. The King too was bound by oath never to admit any alteration in the liturgy, or in the articles.

Mr. Hans Stanley delivered his sentiments with great moderation. The petition appeared to him to contain a sort of contradiction, which rendered it an unfit subject for deliberation ; a minority in number came to solicit from the majority a material alteration in religion°. He had heard it generally asserted, that the original intention of the petitioners was to object to certain articles of the thirty-nine, and to particular parts of the liturgy ; but not being able to agree among themselves in all respects, they had placed the House as well as themselves, in a situation of con-

° About 240 persons subscribed the petition, of whom 200 were clergymen. The whole number of the clergy was calculated to be 20,000.

siderable embarrassment; they applied to become members of an ecclesiastical community, namely, the Church of England, yet desired the foundation on which that constitution is built to be removed. Professing himself a warm friend to toleration, he resisted the right of separate sectaries to teach schismatical doctrines under the garb of the Church of England. No reformer, whose name has been transmitted with honour and approbation, ever framed so wild an idea as that of putting all religious creeds on a level. "If all the founders of religious systems," he said "were alive at the same time, I am persuaded they would compose as numerous an army as that with which Alexander subdued the Persian empire; yet every one of them would derive his tenets from the Scriptures: but the wisdom of all countries has rather chosen to trust to explanations, derived from the mature labour and consideration of a venerable and pious hierarchy, than to the crude fancies and notions of every assuming dogmatizer, who desires to make himself famous for the singularity of his sentiments: on this account, systems and creeds have prevailed all over Christendom." Denying that it was a great hardship for persons who, from scruples of their own, could not accept church preferment, to seek other virtuous employments, he concluded with saying, he thought the peace of mankind a fortieth article which he prized as much as the other thirty-nine; and although many disputes had arisen in the civil administration of the country, yet respecting its ecclesiastical affairs, we had, since the accession of the House of Hanover, enjoyed more peace than any other age or country could boast. He pronounced it inconsistent and dangerous to introduce such a proposition to parliament; for though a free country may alter any law, for law is the creature of the legislature, and can be altered, yet there are laws so fundamental that they cannot be altered without shaking the basis of the state.

C H A P.

XIX.

1772.

Mr. Wedderburne, in opposing the petition, denied that it contained any thing detrimental to the compact of union between England and Scotland, and cited precedents in which the church government had been already very properly changed.

Mr. Burke resisted the introduction of the petition, not because the Church of England could not subsist independently of the Thirty-nine Articles, but because the petitioners, by the extraordinary latitude they had taken, rendered their objects indeterminate. "What are we to understand," he said, "by the Holy Scriptures, which these gentlemen desire to make a profession of their belief in? The Romish canon admits the books of the Apocrypha; the canon of Luther excludes some parts of the Pentateuch, and the whole Epistle to the Hebrews; and some ancient fathers have rejected the book of Revelations. Mankind are as little likely to be of one mind on this, as on any other point."

Sir George Savile and Mr. Thomas Pitt defended the petition, and the character of the petitioners; vindicated their pretensions to be exempt from subscription to complicated creeds; and asserted, that there was no argument urged against the petition which would not impeach the reformation.

Lord North, Mr. Fox, and several other members of talents, opposed the reception of the petition, and were replied to by Sawbridge, Sutton, and Dunning.

The case was generally argued, as it affected the clergy; the House seeming to consider the operation of the act upon the professions of law and physic of small importance to the public; but a wish was expressed that the Universities would grant relief in that point, as well as to young students at the time of matriculation. Lord George Germaine descanted at considerable length on the impropriety of this restriction. Mr. Soame Jenyns defended the Universities, and particularly Cam-

bridge, averring that they could not annul the practice of enjoining a subscription, as it was founded on a royal statute, ordained at the instance of King James I.

C H A P.
XIX.
1772.

The debate was long and spirited ; the cause of the petitioners, and of the Church, being defended with equal zeal and ability : nor was the subject treated as a party question, but discussed entirely on its merits. The motion to bring in the petition was lost by a great majority.^p

Another attack on the ecclesiastical establishment was made by Mr. Henry Seymour, who moved for leave to bring in a bill for securing the possessions of the subject against dormant claims of the church : this was called the Church Nullum Tempus bill. In support of the proposition the common topics were alleged, tending to show the impropriety of tolerating long dormant claims, and the tyrannical and oppressive use to which they might be applied. On the other side it was shown, that the Nullum Tempus claimed by the crown, and put an end to by a statute, was an engine in the hands of the strong to oppress the weak ; whereas the Nullum Tempus of the church was a defence to the weak against the strong. The motion was rejected.^q

Feb. 17th.
Church
Nullum
Tempus.

Dr. Nowell, principal of St. Mary Hall, Oxford, in preaching before the House of Commons, on the

30th. Jan.
Sermon on

^p 217 to 71. In detailing this debate I have principally relied on the History of Lord North's Administration ; the author of which asserts, that he derived his information from minutes taken in the house, and never before published. The compiler of Debrett's Debates has given two details, differing materially from each other, and from that I have principally consulted ; but of them I have made some use. Some information has also been derived from a variety of pamphlets, particularly Wollaston's Address to the Clergy ; Thoughts on the Dangers apprehended from Popery and Sectaries, by abolishing Subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles ; Letters on the Subject of Subscription to the Liturgy and Thirty-nine Articles, published under the signature of Paulinus ; a Letter to the Members of the House of Commons, respecting the Petition for Religion, by a Christian Whig ; and Tucker's Apology for the Church of England. For a curious and characteristic letter on this subject, see Gibbon's Posthumous Works, vol. i. p. 447.

^q 141 to 117.

C H A P.
XIX.

1772.

King
Charles's
martyrdom.

anniversary of King Charles's martyrdom, expressed sentiments which were considered highly repugnant to the liberties of the kingdom, as established by the glorious Revolution in 1688; this gave rise to another debate, in which an attempt was made to change the ecclesiastical regulations. As only the speaker and four members were present at the delivery of Dr. Nowell's discourse^r, a motion of thanks, and for printing the sermon, was carried without difficulty; but when the sermon was transmitted to the members, its contents excited severe animadversions.

21st Feb.
Debates on
the vote of
thanks
to the
preacher.

Mr. Thomas Townshend, it is said, moved that the sermon should be burnt by the common hangman, as containing arbitrary, Tory, highflown doctrines; and the motion would probably have been carried, had not the House recollected their previous vote; it was then proposed, that in future, sermons should be printed before the preacher was thanked; this was negatived by moving the order of the day. Yet the discussion was not permitted to end: the Honourable Boyle Walsingham, supported by Mr. Thomas Townshend, moved to expunge the thanks given to Dr. Nowell, which, after a strenuous contest, was carried without a division.^s

In this debate many topics were introduced, tending to involve general questions of government, and reflecting on the character of Charles I. Lord Folkstone ironically justified the preacher, because his doctrines were conformable to the service of the day, which was composed by Father Petre, confessor to James II. Alderman Sawbridge defended the murder of Charles, which he said was a just punishment for his dissimulation, oppression and cruelty; and at the same time sarcastically inquired if these were the virtues which Dr. Nowell meant to recom

^r Gibbon's Posthumous Works, vol. i. p. 450.

^s In the course of the debate the order of the day was moved and negatived by 152 to 41.

mend to the King^t. In pursuance of these sentiments, Mr. Montague moved for a repeal of the act for observing the thirtieth of January, which he observed was in some measure blasphemous, as it conveyed a parallel between Charles I. and our blessed Saviour. The liturgy was defended by Sir Roger Newdigate, and the motion lost on a division.^u

C H A P.
XIX.

1772.
2d Mar.
Motion for
abrogating
the observ-
ance of
King
Charles's
martyrdom.
Efforts of
the Dissen-
ters.

In this interval the protestant dissenting ministers were actively engaged in preparing an application to Parliament, for "A legal security against those penalties to which such of them were liable as could not conscientiously comply with the terms of the Toleration Act; and also to obtain relief for tutors and schoolmasters from those oppressive laws to which they were exposed, and from the inconveniences which they actually suffered in endeavouring to get the natural course of those laws obstructed^x." The penal laws originally enacted against Dissenters were extremely severe; but by the Toleration Act, passed soon after the Revolution, all Dissenters were exempted from the operation of the old laws who would subscribe the doctrinal articles of the church of England, which included thirty-five and a half out of thirty-nine^y. This act was framed with the full assent of the Dissenters of those days, who were strict Calvinists: but in a short period afterward, schisms

^t Since the publication of the first edition of this Work, I have learnt from unquestionable authority, that Dr. Nowell undertook to preach this sermon at the express request of the speaker, who after hearing it, observed, good humouredly, that he would be attacked by the Reviewers. Before it was printed, in pursuance of the order of the House, Dr. Nowell waited on the speaker, and offered to expunge or qualify any expression which might be thought exceptionable, but was answered, "By no means." Several other persons, eminent for judgment and moderation to whom he submitted it, concurred in praising it, without suggesting the necessity of an alteration. It was therefore not without great surprise that Dr. Nowell learnt the censures his sermon had occasioned; censures which, perhaps, gave him greater uneasiness than those who pronounced them intended to convey.

^u 125 to 97.

^x This account of the intention of the Dissenters, is taken verbatim from A Free and Dispassionate Account of the late Application to Parliament, by Dr. Stennett, a very eminent dissenting teacher.

^y Those excepted are the 34th, 35th, and part of the 20th.

C H A P.

XIX.

1772.

arising among them, many denied the right of a Christian society to impose articles of human composition on any of its members. These principles prevented many of the Dissenters from subscribing the articles, and frequent attempts had been made in former reigns to relieve them from the subscription and test laws. Although these efforts did not succeed, ministers were highly sensible of the merits of the Dissenters, in establishing the House of Hanover on the throne; and their orderly and exemplary conduct occasioned the laws against them to be considered as mere dead letter.

In the debate on the petition of the clergy, and in the publications which it occasioned, the usual acknowledgments were made in favour of the Dissenters, and wishes were expressed that they might speedily be relieved from the necessity of subscription. Anxious to take advantage of a moment so apparently favourable, the ministers residing in London, some of whom heard the debate, immediately entered into a consultation, and agreed that it was highly eligible to secure the benefit of the present disposition of the House, and petition for that relief they had so long desired, and had been waiting for an opportunity to obtain. The limitation of the period for preferring petitions was an insurmountable obstacle to their soliciting the co-operation of their brethren in the country, and they therefore intended to defer the proposed application till another session, when, at one of the meetings, intelligence was communicated of the favourable disposition of government; accompanied with the offer of a person in high station to bring in their bill by way of motion, which could be done at any time in the session.^z

The hopes of the Dissenters were thus inflamed to a most sanguine confidence: they distributed among

^z See the Case of the Dissenting Ministers, by Israel Mauduit; A Free and Dispassionate Account of the late Application, by Dr. Stennett; and Vindication of the Protestant Dissenting Ministers, by Dr. Kippis.

the members of Parliament, a partial and exaggerated statement of their grievances, and anticipated complete success. The motion for leave to bring in a bill for their relief was made by Sir Henry Houghton, and seconded by Sir George Savile: on this occasion the principle was fully debated; the hardships imposed by the law on Protestant Dissenters were displayed and descanted on with the utmost force, and the generous and tolerating principles of the British constitution invoked for their relief. In reply it was observed, that as the laws in question were never enforced, the Dissenters could have no room to complain; they were demanding relief who never felt an injury; and as they were never called on to subscribe, they were never exposed to the rigours of the law: to them then it was not an evil; but, if repealed, all the barriers erected by the prudence of former legislatures, against the enemies of the Church, would be destroyed: enthusiasm on the one hand, and infidelity on the other, would ascend the pulpit, and distribute their pernicious dogmas without possibility of restraint, or fear of punishment. Publications inimical to the Church, or to the Christian religion, were dangerous only in a small degree, because they could be answered in the same manner, and fell into the hands of persons who were disinterested and unprejudiced; but the delusions of the pulpit could never be too cautiously guarded against, because they were delivered to an audience prepared, for the most part, to receive the desired impression, and those who uttered them could not be refuted. If the Dissenters, as a respectable body, claimed regard to the tenderness of their consciences, the members of the established church, more numerous, and not less respectable, had prior claims on the regard of the legislature. The present ought, it was said, to have been entitled an act for the encouragement of Presbyterianism, and for weakening and destroying the Church of England; it tended to revive extinguished animosities

C H A P.
XIX.

1772.
3d April.
Motion to
repeal the
test laws.

C H A P. between the body of the people and the Dissenters,
 XIX. and to establish a republican religion, which had
 been at all times the sworn foe to monarchy.

1772.

Bill passes
 the Lower
 House.

May.
 But rejected
 by the
 Lords.

Marriage
 of the
 King's bro-
 thers.

The cause of the Dissenters, however, was supported by the greater share of ability, and the ministry shewing a decided predilection for the measure the bill passed speedily, and almost without opposition, through the Lower House. In the Lords it met a different fate: it was read a first time, but, on the second reading, the motion for committing it was rejected by a large majority.^a

A message from the King, relative to the marriage of Princes of the Blood, which was delivered in the course of this session, produced several animated debates, and claimed a considerable share of public interest. In the summer of the year 1771, the Duke of Cumberland, one of the King's brothers, privately married Mrs. Horton, widow of Christopher Horton, Esq. of Catton Hall, in the county of Derby, and daughter of Lord Irnham: when the match was publicly announced, His Majesty forbade them the court. The displeasure shown by the King on this occasion did not deter the Duke of Gloucester, in the ensuing spring, from avowing as his consort the Countess Dowager of Waldegrave, whom he had espoused in 1766.

20th Feb.
 King's
 message.

The message stated, that the right of approving all marriages in the royal family, had ever belonged to the Kings of this realm, as a matter of public concern; and recommended to both Houses of Parliament to take into serious consideration, whether it might not be wise and expedient to supply the defect of the laws, and by some new provision, more effectually

^a 102 to 29. The bill was supported by the Duke of Richmond, Lord Chatham, Lord Shelburne, and Lord Lyttleton; Lord Mansfield and Lord Camden are also said to have divided in the minority for committing it; among the principal opponents of the bill were Lord Bruce, and Lord Gower; Drummond, Archbishop of York; Terrick, Bishop of London; Lowth, then Bishop of Oxford; Hinchcliffe, Bishop of Peterborough; and Barrington, Bishop of Llandaff.

ally to guard the descendants of George II. from marrying without the consent of the King, his heirs and successors. In consequence of this message, a bill was brought into the House of Lords, by which it was declared that none of the Royal Family, being under the age of twenty-five years, should marry without the King's consent ; after attaining that age they were at liberty, in case of the King's refusal, to apply to the privy council, by announcing the name of the person they were desirous to espouse, and if, within a year, neither House of Parliament should address the King against it, the marriage might be legally solemnized ; but all persons assisting in, or knowing of an intention in any of the Royal Family to marry without fulfilling these ceremonies, and not disclosing it, should incur the penalties of a premunire.

CHAP.
XIX.
1772.

This bill was vehemently opposed in all its stages ; the House divided, on the second reading, on the preamble and on every one of the clauses, and several proposed amendments were rejected. On the third reading, the Marquis of Rockingham opposed the bill, on the supposition, that the Royal Family might in time become so extensive as to include many thousand individuals ; the bill in all its parts was defended by the lord chancellor ; Lord Camden objected to it for the reasons assigned by the Marquis of Rockingham, and deprecated the annulling of a marriage between persons of mature age. The bill passed without amendment^b ; two strong protests were entered on the journals, the first signed by fourteen peers, the latter by six, two of whom had signed the former, and an additional article by the Earl of Radnor alone.

26th.
Royal marriage bill.
3d March.

Protests.

In the house of commons an opposition equally strenuous was made, and every clause in the bill was debated with acrimony and pertinacity ; but at

13th to
24th Mar.
Passes the
commons.

^b 90 to 26.

C H A P. length it passed without amendment. The King, in closing the session, expressed his satisfaction at the temper and prudence with which the deliberations had been conducted; thanked Parliament for the additional security provided for the honour and welfare of his family, and requested them to use their best endeavours in cultivating and improving a spirit of harmony and confidence in all ranks of the people.

XIX.
1772.
10th June.
Close of the session.

Strength of administration.

The affairs of government were now conducted with more regularity, and a greater appearance of concord and firmness, than had been hitherto experienced since the first resignation of Mr. Pitt. The minister, by the suavity of his manners, attached many friends, and tranquillized many opponents, while the increasing prosperity of the nation enabled him with confidence to hold out the agreeable prospect of a reduction of the national debt. The city patriots, divided, enfeebled, and reduced both in numbers and popularity, could no longer give uneasiness to the court, or agitate the people.^c

Misfortunes in the Royal Family.

But when the course of public affairs no longer presented motives of disquiet, the King suffered severe afflictions in his own family. He considered his dignity injured by the marriage of his brothers, and found himself compelled to testify disapprobation by severity, and apply to the legislature for protection against the recurrence of similar acts. He had the misfortune, early in this year, to lose his surviving parent, whom he loved and honoured with all the ardour and reverence becoming the filial character. The slanders with which this amiable princess was assailed during the latter part of her life excited

8th Feb.
Death of the Princess Dowager of Wales.

^c Crosby, Oliver, and Wilkes, received (24th June), by a vote of the common council, cups in commemoration of their exertions in behalf of the printers, but the public expressed no particular sensation on the occasion. Wilkes and Bull, the sheriffs, on completing the first six months of their office (6th April) affectingly addressed the livery, with a congratulation that the number of unhappy objects under their care in jails and prisons had not been increased by any *illegal royal proclamation*, or commitments during pleasure made by either House of Parliament. This manœuvre was also disregarded.

only a virtuous indignation in the King against her factious calumniators, and increased his affection for her, as he considered her ease and happiness a sacrifice to the turbulence of those whose principal enmity was levelled at the proceedings of his government. Her death was sudden, and took place in the fifty-fourth year of her age.

C H A P.

XIX.

1772.

An event which occurred in another part of the world, affected the King, in a most sensible manner, as the honour of his sister was involved in suspicion, and she was far removed from the sphere of his protection, and from the still greater blessing of those equitable tribunals, where every one, without protection, may defy oppression, and, fortified with conscious innocence, surmount the efforts of malicious confederacy. The marriage of the Princess Caroline Matilda with Christian VII. King of Denmark, was hailed as an event which promised to strengthen the Protestant interest, and produce commercial benefits to the British nation: in every personal view it was ominous and inauspicious, being one of those alliances in which neither similarity of disposition, nor any other requisites, were found to ensure felicity. Christian, contemptible for his imbecility and credulity, abandoned himself to irregularities of every kind, too puerile, effeminate, and dissolute for commemoration^d. Among his favourites was Struensee, a man of obscure birth, but no inconsiderable talent; he was bred a physician, but uniting with his medical acquirements some knowledge of the civil law, he obtained rapid promotion at the court of Copenhagen, and was raised to the office of prime minister. His principal coadjutor was Brandt, a youth of noble birth and conspicuous courage, but inferior in talents to Struensee. The Queen Dowager of Denmark, Julia Maria, entertained a dislike against her daughter-in-law, arising principally from her wish to direct the reins of go-

Revolu-
tion in
Denmark.

^d See Gibbon's Posthumous Works, vol. i. p. 445.

C H A P.
XIX.
1772.

vernment and secure the succession to the crown to her younger son, Prince Frederick, in both which objects she considered Matilda a principal obstacle. The mental and corporeal weakness of the King rendered him abjectly passive ; and it became the point of contest whether the Queen Consort, or the Queen Mother should govern the kingdom in his name. The emissaries of Julia-Maria exerted every artifice to prejudice the people against the young Queen, and succeeded in exciting jealousies and suspicions of the most odious nature. The favour enjoyed by Struensee was a source of dissatisfaction to many of the courtiers who strengthened the opposing party : Struensee's own imprudence, and the unsuspicious disposition of Matilda, afforded great advantages ; and at length a conspiracy was formed for seizing her, Struensee, Brandt, and all their adherents. This project was executed after a grand masked ball at the royal palace. Struensee and Brandt precipitated in a moment from the summit of power, were cast into prison, loaded with fetters, and finally, after undergoing great indignities, yielded up their lives on a scaffold.

15th and
16th. Jan.

The unfortunate Queen, having performed the tenderest of maternal duties, was retired to rest, when, at five o'clock in the morning, she was awaked by a female attendant, who presented to her the King's order to remove for a few days to one of the royal palaces in the country. The Queen comprehending at once the nature and extent of her misfortune, rushed from her bed, and sought the presence of her husband ; but at the sight of Count Rantzau, one of her enemies in the antichamber, she recollected the necessity of attending to her dress, which she had totally forgot, and retired to her chamber to remedy the indecorum ; but when she again attempted to go out found her passage impeded by an officer, placed by Rantzau for that purpose. She overcame this obstacle, as well as the impediment of two soldiers,

who crossed their firelocks at the door of the anti-chamber; but when, with great difficulty, she reached the King's apartment, he had been removed to another part of the palace. This precaution the conspirators adopted from fear of the Queen's influence; the King was with great difficulty prevailed on to sanction their measures; a moment's interview would have frustrated all their plans, and rolled back the stream of ruin on themselves. Matilda's misfortune was now complete; she was surrounded by enemies, who seeing her entirely in their power, treated her with sarcastic insolence; she was driven with the utmost rapidity to the castle of Cronsburgh, distant about twenty-four miles from Copenhagen, and there confined.

After the execution of Struensee and Brandt, the Queen Dowager's party showed a disposition to proceed to similar extremities against Matilda, but they were deterred by the resolute interference of George III. Articles were undoubtedly exhibited against her, and examinations taken, but to what they amounted cannot at present be exactly known. The common report was, that the articles supposed to be proved were sent to London, and submitted to the examination of the most eminent civilians, who though consulted separately, unanimously declared, that the evidence, far from amounting to legal conviction, did not sanction a presumption of guilt; and they added, they did not only refuse credit to the facts, as lawyers, but were obliged to disbelieve them as men.

This contemptible triumph over a depraved and debilitated monarch, and an artless and unsuspecting Queen, is called the Revolution in Denmark. The powerful and spirited interposition of the British crown procured the Queen's release in about four months after her confinement in the fortress of Cronsburgh. She was conveyed, under the escort of a British squadron, to Stade, in the Hanoverian dominions, and was afterward removed to the castle

C H A P. of Zell, where the liberality of the King, her brother, provided her a becoming household, and where she lived in a state of honourable retirement till a premature death terminated her days at the age of twenty-four.^c

XIX.

1772.

■ 10th May 1774. In the preceding account I have principally consulted Wraxall's memoirs of the courts of Berlin, Dresden, Warsaw, and Vienna, in the years 1777, 1778, and 1779, vol. i. letter 2. The following account of the unfortunate Queen's removal and subsequent conduct, given by Mr. Coxe, in his *Travels in Poland, &c.* book ix. chap. i. is sufficiently interesting to suspend for a moment the strict duty of the historian, and gratify the reader by an affecting view of suffering Majesty. "During her confinement (at Cronsburgh) she inhabited the governor's apartment, and had permission to walk upon the side-batteries, or upon the leads of the tower. She was uncertain of the fate that awaited her; and had great reason to apprehend, that the party which had occasioned her arrest meditated still more violent measures. When the English minister at Copenhagen brought an order for her enlargement, which he had obtained by his spirited conduct, she was so surprised with the unexpected intelligence, that she instantly burst into a flood of tears, embraced him in a transport of joy, and called him her deliverer. After a short conference, the minister proposed that Her Majesty should immediately embark on board of a ship that was waiting to carry her from a kingdom in which she had experienced such a train of misfortunes. But however anxious she was to depart, one circumstance checked the excess of her joy; a few months before her imprisonment she had been delivered of a princess, whom she suckled herself. The rearing of this child had been her only comfort; and she had conceived a more than parental attachment to it, from its having been the constant companion of her misery. The infant was at that period afflicted with the measles; and having nursed it with unceasing solicitude, she was desirous of continuing her attention and care. All these circumstances had so endeared the child to her, rendered more susceptible of tenderness in a prison than in a court, that when an order for detaining the young princess was intimated to her, she testified the strongest emotions of grief, and could not, for some time, be prevailed upon to bid a final adieu. At length, after bestowing repeated caresses upon this darling object of her affection, she retired to the vessel in an agony of despair. She remained upon deck, her eyes immovably directed toward the palace of Cronsburgh, which contained her child that had been her only comfort, until darkness intercepted the view. The vessel having made but little way during the night, at day-break she observed with fond satisfaction that the palace was still visible, and could not be persuaded to enter the cabin as long as she could discover the faintest glimpse of the battlements. Queen Matilda," the same elegant author continues, "was naturally of a lively disposition, until her misfortunes brought on a settled melancholy, which preyed upon her mind. In company she endeavoured to dissemble her sorrows, and assume a cheerfulness to which her heart was a stranger. She became extremely fond of solitude; and, when alone, indulged her grief in the most bitter lamentations. She retained, to her last moments, the most unaffected attachment to her children in Denmark: with all the anxiety of a parent, she made repeated inquiries after them; and was delighted with receiving the minutest accounts of their health, amusement, and education. Having obtained their portraits from Copenhagen, she placed them in her most retired apartment; often apostrophized them as if they were present; and addressed them in the tenderest manner."

APPENDIX I.

LETTERS between Lord BUTE and Lord MELCOMBE, on the state of Parties and Politics, previous to and during Lord BUTE's Administration.

Mr. Dodington to Lord Bute.

(Extract.) 22d December, 1760.

THE more I think of the conversation of last Saturday about single resignations, or even combined aggressions, the more I am confirmed in my opinion that nothing should be done that can justly be imputed to precipitation, nothing delayed that can be imputed to fear of them. This I say in case of aggression, which I think and hope will never happen. However, as I think they will drop off ere long, you will be pleased to think only with yourself, and your royal master, of proper persons to fill up the first rank with you in case of death or desertion.

Remember, my noble and generous friend, that to recover monarchy from the inveterate usurpation of oligarchy is a point too arduous and important to be achieved without much difficulty, and some degree of danger; though none but what attentive moderation and unalterable firmness will certainly surmount.

Paper read by Mr. Dodington to Lord Bute.

16th January, 1761.

If the intelligence they bring me be true, Mr. Pitt goes down fast in the city, and faster at this end of the town: they add, you rise daily.

This may not be true: but if he sinks, you will observe his system sinks with him, and that there is nothing to replace it but recalling the troops and leaving Hanover in deposit.

If this should come to be the case, and you cannot make a separate peace upon the present foot, it seems not far off,

either from absolute necessity, or from the arrogance of those whose presumption and court to the closet first plunged us into this distress, or from the united voice of the most affectionate of His Majesty's subjects. Should not ■ measure so extremely popular as the sacrificing that country to this for a time, to secure ■■ honourable and advantageous peace, both which experience has shewn cannot be done by sacrificing this country to that: should not then a measure so endearing, so much beyond the most sanguine expectations three months ago, come immediately from the King, and, by his order, be carried into execution by the hands in which he places his whole confidence? Be pleased to reflect a moment on this, and prepare yourself for this event, if necessity, presumption, or the voice of the nation should force it upon you.

*Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute;
on Mr. Pitt's resignation.*

(Extract.) 6th October, 1761.

I SINCERELY wish your Lordship joy of being delivered of a most impracticable colleague, His Majesty of a most imperious servant, and the country of a most dangerous minister. I am told that the people are sullen about it.

Lord Bute to Lord Melcombe.

8th October, 1761.

My dear Lord,

WHATEVER private motives of uneasiness I might have in the late administration, I am far from thinking the dissolution of it favourable in the present minute to the King's affairs. Without entering into the causes of the war, it is sufficient to observe, that it was a national one, and that the honour of the nation is pledged to support its allies. You, my dear Lord, cannot dislike it more than I do; but, as we have to do with a most treacherous enemy, whose infamous prevarications have been so lately experienced, we must act with redoubled vigour and spirit before we can hope to bring them to such a peace as, from our repeated conquests, this country has a right to expect, such a peace as I (with this load of responsibility) durst put my name to. This being so, the change of a minister cannot, at present, make any remarkable change in measures. I sigh after peace, but will not sue for it: not out of pride or from motives of self-preservation, (though both might

without dishonour be urged) but from a thorough conviction that begging it from France is not the way to procure it. Indeed, my good Lord, my situation, at all times perilous, is become much more so, for I am no stranger to the language held in this great city: *our darling's resignation* is owing to Lord Bute, who might have prevented it with the King, and he must answer for all the consequences; which is, in other words, for the miscarriage of another's system, that he (Pitt) himself could not have prevented. All this keeps up my attention, strengthens my mind without alarming it, and not only whispers caution, but steadiness and resolution.

Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute, (in answer.)

8th October, 1761.

I look upon the late event as an obstacle removed, not as added, when peace is to be treated. Your Lordship may remember some months ago I said I thought Mr. Pitt would never make peace, because he could never make such a peace as he had taught the nation to expect. I suppose he now sees that we are within a year or two of an impracticability of carrying on the war upon the present footing, and may think, by going out upon a spirited pretence, to turn the attention and dissatisfaction of the public on those, who, at a ruinous expence, are to carry on his wild measures, and whom they have been taught to dislike by a total abandonment of the press to him and his creatures, which I humbly hope you will now think proper to employ better.

I can say nothing to the treachery and prevarication of France in the late negotiation, being totally ignorant of all those transactions. I entirely agree with you that we must act with redoubled vigour in carrying on the war, to obtain a proper peace; but it may be a doubt whether carrying it on in the same manner may be prudent, or even long practicable.

I also agree with your Lordship, that where honour is pledged it must be maintained; but whether, after what we have done to support our allies, we cannot maintain it at a less expence than ruin to ourselves without effect to them, may be worthy of consideration. I am sensible I am writing upon a subject I am no ways informed about. The mention made of it in your letter drew me into it. I have done. As you approve of the war, in what manner soever you carry it on, I shall never say one word more against it, public or private, but will support it whenever I am called on, as well

as my distance from the scene of business will allow me. I told you I would do so (after having told you my opinion) when you did me the honour to command me to be your friend. Indeed, my dear Lord, I wish and mean to serve you, and am sure I never will disserve you, which is, I fear, as far as my poor abilities are likely to go. I am glad the King has given the seals; and as you approve of it, I suppose they are well disposed of. The sooner it is public the better. I wish they had been given ■ soon ■ they were resumed.

I think there can be nothing in the House of Commons: if there should, Mr. Grenville, no doubt, will do his best. I fear he is not very popular there; but you have friends there that are so, and very able too. The insolence of the city is intolerable. They must, and they easily may be taught better manners. I was bred a monarchy man, and will die so; and I do not understand that men of that rank are to demand reasons of measures, while they are under His Majesty's consideration. As to you, my dear Lord, I am sure you laugh at them, and know that the moment they are threatened with the King's displeasure, those who *were* at your throat will be at your feet.

Lord Bute to Lord Melcombe, in answer to a letter of reproach on the refusal of a Request.

8th February, 1762.

*** In short, my Lord, though I cannot prevent umbrage being taken at my not satisfying every wish, I shall certainly hinder any reasonable ground of complaint concerning things I have once promised. I own, and without blushing, I have been very unfortunate in the means I have for years taken, of cementing friendships and procuring attachments. Others with much less trouble, perhaps without my sincerity, succeed better; but I repine not; conscious of my own feelings, conscious of deserving better treatment, I shall go on, though single and alone, to serve my King and country in the best manner my poor talents will allow me; happy, too happy, when the heavy burden that I bear shall be removed, and placed on other shoulders.

Lord Melcombe to Lord Bute.

13th April, 1762.

*** The people are intoxicated with conquests: his partizans take effectual care to combine the idea of Mr. Pitt

with it. His party rises: they attack you publicly, in all conversations, and now in writing, personally, in the most audacious manner, reproach you with following his example. Does the body of office assist them in all this? No.—Does it lift a finger against them?—Yet less. They observe a worse than Spanish neutrality; and though it is probable they may have no compact with your enemy, yet they will not, most certainly, shew you their compact among themselves, as they find they are in no danger of your declaring war. Would they then have Mr. Pitt again? No—but they desire to have that phantom followed enough to intimidate you, if you offer to break through their measures of government, or interfere with their disposition of the emoluments of it, by which alone they know they can be defeated. But if you were to go too fast in the one, or meddle at all with the other, they would, in my opinion, rather have Mr. Pitt than you, because they would think, in the first place, that he must be a little humbled by adversity, and, in the next, that they could better struggle with his popularity, transitory and ill-founded, than with your credit with the King, built on the solid foundation of honour as well as inclination.

* * * I do indeed most earnestly insist upon a totally new system, and that cannot take place without new hands; for these cannot give up the old one without passing condemnation on themselves, the authors of it, for servile and interested purposes.

APPENDIX II.

CORRESPONDENCE relative to the discontinuance of the PRUSSIAN SUBSIDY.

The King of Prussia to King George III.

à Breslaw, ce 22 Janv. 1762.

Monsieur mon frère,

La longueur de la Campagne dernière, et différentes fatalités survenus de suite, m'ont empêché d'écrire plutôt à Votre Majesté. A present voila l'imperatrice de Russie morte, et le Grand Duc qui m'a temoigné en toute occasion de l'amitié est sur le trône. Je suis persuadé que pour peu que le Sieur Keith sache profiter de ces circonstances, qu'il

en pourra tirer un parti avantageux. Pour moi, je ne doute pas que cette année ci ne soit plus heureuse que les précédentes, et ne nous mette en état d'obliger nos ennemis à des conditions de paix plus honorables pour nous que les loix arrogantes, qu'ils vouloient nous prescrire. La déclaration de guerre des Espagnols est, selon moi, avantageuse à l'Angleterre, en ce que la grande superiorité de la flotte Britannique trionfera des Espagnols comme des François. Quelle gloire pour le regne de V^{otre} Majesté de rendre par là sa nation la dominatrice des mers, sans contradictions, et à nous tous d'avoir résistés, et de nous être soutenus contre les forces réunies de toute l'Europe ! Il n'est question que d'un peu de constance et de fermeté pour terminer cette funeste guerre à l'avantage de l'Angleterre et de ses alliés ; mais il faut perseverer jusqu'au bout ; je vois encore difficultés sans nombre ; elles m'encouragent au lieu de me rebuter, par l'esperance de les vaincre. Personne ne prend plus d'intérêt que moi à la gloire et à la prospérité de V^{otre} Majesté ; je la prie d'en être convaincuë, ainsi que de la haute estime avec laquelle je suis,

Monsieur mon frère,

de V^{otre} Majesté

le bon frère,

Frederic.

Lord Bute to Messrs. Keith and Wroughton.

St. James's, 23d February, 1762.

Gentlemen,

All the letters which I have received from Keith, since the late great event, have been already acknowledged. I congratulate you very sincerely upon the symptoms which have hitherto appeared of a change in the measures of your court, so greatly to be wished, for the good of Europe. At the same time I cannot but acquaint you with the particular pleasure and satisfaction with which the King received your accounts of the very friendly disposition of the present Emperor towards His Prussian Majesty, his visible disinclination towards France, and above all his intention to do all in his power towards bringing about a peace between the powers at war, upon reasonable terms.

This was the most capital point in the instructions which His Majesty commanded me to send you, upon the first view of the late Empress's death. And it is still that which the King would have you recommend with the greatest

zeal, and in which we hope that His Imperial Majesty will employ all his credit and influence, and especially with the King of Prussia. The reports which you have made, and those which we have received from Mr. Mitchell, of the good prospect of a speedy reconciliation between those two courts, must undoubtedly give pleasure here; but I must at the same time observe to you, that it arises chiefly from the hope and expectation that His Prussian Majesty will be earnestly exhorted by the Emperor, rather to put an end, by reasonable and proper terms, to his war with the Empress Queen, than encouraged by him to persist in it.

I am, with great truth and regard,

Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Bute.

Lord Bute to Messieurs Knyphausen and Mitchell.

à St. James's, ce 26 Fevrier, 1762.

Messieurs,

Comme vous sembleriez souhaiter d'être mis en état de depecher vôtre courier ce soir même, je n'ai pas voulu différer de m'informer de la reponse qu'il plairoit au Roi que je vous rendisse sur les instances pressantes que vous avez faites dernièrement au sujet du subsidie; et l'ayant fait ce matin je vais en consequence, vous faire part des intentions de sa Majesté la dessus, afin d'éviter les meprises qui se peuvent glisser dans les rapports de ce qui se traite en des conférences, et pour que vous en puissiez rendre un compte authentique au Roi votre maitre.

Je vous dirai donc que Sa Majesté se trouve encore portée d'inclination, comme auparavant de fournir l'aide pécuniaire en question au Roi de Prusse, mais comme le grand événement que nous avons vu arriver dans le nord à opéré un changement qui semble promettre les plus grandes facilités à Sa dite Majesté pour l'amélioration de sa situation presente en la tirant de ces dangers multipliés auxquels elle s'étoit trouvée exposée, le Roi souhaiteroit que le secours qu'il voudroit prêter à ce prince, dût plutôt aider à la conclusion de la paix qu' à la continuation de la guerre.

C'est dans cette vue que Sa Majesté a attendu avec tant d'impatience la lettre que vous avez tant de fois annoncée de la part du Roi de Prusse, comme aussi les éclaircissemens qu'elle avoit demandée par le canal de son ministre à Magdebourg.

Les voila enfin arrivés ces depeches de M. Mitchell, mais sans avoir apporté la moindre ouverture dans aucun des points essentiels qui en sont le sujet, qui pût satisfaire à la juste attente du Roi. Je suis obligé d'en dire autant par rapport à ce que vous m'avez fait l'honneur de me communiquer des instructions de Sa Majesté Prussienne qui ne s'ouvre le moins du monde au sujet des conditions particulieres, sur lesquelles elle voudroit conclure la paix ; se bornant au contraire, aux expressions generales de sa disposition à conclure sur un pied qui seroit conforme á ses interêts et à sa gloire.

Il est vrai que par une lettre de plus fraiche datte Mr. Mitchell nous apprend la mission d'une personne accreditee et munie des plein pouvoirs du dit Roi à la cour de Russie, et que Sa Majesté a bien voulu lui faire savoir que c'etoit pour s'en servir si l'occasion se presentoit. Elle ne s'explique pas d'avantage, et ne fait la moindre communication au Roi des instructions particulieres, qu'elle auroit données à ce ministre.

Vous jugez bien, messieurs, qu'un silence si extraordinaire par rapport à un objet qui interesse les deux cours a un tel point ne sauroit etre regardé qu'avec beaucoup de surprise par sa Majesté ; je vous assure pourtant qu'il ne l'a nullement fait changer de resolution. Mais elle continue d'esperer que le Roi vòtre maître se determinera enfin à lui faire part de ses idées au sujet de la paix ; et elle se flatte en même tems qu'elle les trouvera propres à faciliter l'obtien de ce bût tant desirable.

Des que le Roi aura eu cette consolation, il ne se perdra pas un jour à moyenner à Sa dite Majesté, la remise des 670,000 livres sterling. Et comme ces sentimens et cette intention du Roi, ne sont seulement raisonnables en eux mêmes, mais qu'ils se trouvent aussi marqués au coin de l'amitié et de l'attention les plus parfaites envers Sa Majesté Prussienne, je me flatte qu'une telle ouverture ne sauroit manquer d'être reçue avec la même cordialité, avec la quelle on la fait, et qu'il y sera repondu d'une maniere à lever toutes les difficultés qui subsistent actuellement ; evenement qui me rejouira infiniment en mon particuliere.

J'ai l'honneur d'etre,

avec a consideration la plus parfaite,

Bute.

The King of Prussia to King George III.

à Breslaw, ce 12 Mars, 1762.

Monsieur mon frère,

Les nouvelles qui viennent de Petersbourg depuis la mort de l'impératrice sont si favorables que je les communique avec joye à Votre Majesté. Le nouvel Empereur est entierement disposé à la paix. Les soins de M. Keith ont beaucoup contribué à entretenir cette disposition avantageuse. J'ai envoyé le Baron Goltz à Petersbourg pour complimenter ce Prince sur son avènement au trône, et il est en même tems chargé de plein pouvoirs pour signer la paix, si l'Empereur y consent. Cette negotiation passe par les mains de M. Keith: L'Angleterre n'a pas été en guerre contre le Russie, et les interêts de Votre Majesté ne peuvent rien souffrir de cette paix de sorte que je n'ai aucun reproche à me faire, et je suis même persuadé qu'elle sera bien aise de cet evenement: Voilà la grande alliance séparée; c'est un tres grand article; si avec cela nous parvenons à pousser la cour de Vienne vigoureusement, il faudra bien qu'elle prenne enfin des sentimens plus modérés qu'elle n'en a marqué jusqu'ici, et son consentement à la paix entrainera infailliblement celui de la France. J'ai regardé de tout tems la reine de Hongrie comme la promotrice de la guerre presente et Votre Majesté verra que la guerre ne finira que lorsque cette Princesse commencera à craindre pour ses propres etats. Je souhaite d'avoir toujours des nouvelles agréables à marquer à Votre Majesté; je la prie cependant de croire que personne ne prend plus que moi de part à ses interêts, etant avec le plus grand attachement.

Monsieur mon frère,

De Votre Majesté

Le bon frère,

*Frederic.**George III. to the King of Prussia.*

(Answer.)

Monsieur mon frère,

EN remerciant Votre Majesté des deux lettres qu'elle m'a pris la peine de m'écrire le 22 de Janvier, et le 12 du courant, je la felicite très sincèrement de l'heureux changement arrivé en Russie, et particulièrement sur la declaration, faite, le 23 du mois passé, par cet Empereur aux cours de Vienne, de Versailles, et de Stockholm. La resolution qu'a

prise ce digne Prince de faire connoître à tout le monde ses sentimens par rapport à la guerre presente, et son intention de contribuer, de tout son possible, au retablissement d'une paix generale, m'a été infiniment agréable; et ma façon de penser sur ces grands objets y correspond entierement, je ne manquerai pas de cooperer, par tout ce qui pourra dependre de mes soins, à un dessein si salutaire. En même tems, je prie Vôte Majesté d'être persuadée, que je souhaite toujours egaleement de pouvoir à son assistance. Elle voit pourtant combien mes facultés diminuent de jour à autre, en suite de la nouvelle guerre, où je me trouve engagé, et des secours indispensables pour le soutien de mon bon et ancien allié le Roi de Portugal. Ce n'est pas que des que Vôte Majesté m'aura confié les moyens, dont elle propose de se servir pour l'obtention de la paix, je ne sois resolu de faire tout ce qui sera en mon pouvoir pour aider à sa réussite. Je suis, avec la plus parfaite estime et affection,

Monsieur mon frère,

De Votre Majesté

à St. James,

Le bon frère,

ce 30 Mars, 1762.

George R.

Lord Bute to Mr. Mitchell.

St. James's, 26th March, 1762.

* * The Prussian ministers having yesterday acquainted me that they had information from their court, of some overtures supposed to have been privately made from hence to the court of Vienna, and having desired that I would communicate the particulars for their master's satisfaction: In order to enable them to set the matter in a true light, I gave them a sight of the precis of the King's order of the 12th of January last, to Sir Joseph Yorke. It is to be hoped that Messrs. Knyphausen and Mitchell will make the proper use of this communication towards removing any ill-grounded suspicions which may have been conceived by the King of Prussia, with regard to a step calculated for procuring, if possible, an information that might prove beneficial to the common cause: a step perfectly inoffensive to every power engaged in it, and which was so far from being taken with a view to prejudice his Prussian Majesty's particular interest, or even being attended with any neglect of them, that it carried upon the very face of it a suggestion thrown out with an eye to turn the Empress's thoughts to obtaining in another part what might serve as an equiva-

lent to her pretensions in Silesia. But to obviate any failure therein on their part, the King has ordered me to send the above extract at all events to you, that you may represent in its true colours, and justify the rectitude of His Majesty's intentions.

For your own further information, and to put it in your power to rectify, upon occasion, any misconception of the tendency and result of the insinuations that were made in consequence of the King's intimation to Sir Joseph Yorke, I enclose copies of his answer likewise, and of that which was returned through the canal of M. Reischach, on the part of the Empress Queen.

Lord Bute to Mr. Mitchell.

St. James's, 30th March 1762.

In my last I acquainted you with the complaint made here by Messieurs Knyphausen and Mitchell, of some supposed secret overtures on our part to the court of Vienna, and I then explained the matter to you from the beginning to the end. I am now to add, that though they gave that intelligence a turn as if they had received it from their own court, yet we know with certainty that they picked it up here. And as it appears from their way of talking upon that subject to me, but more especially from what they said to the Duke of Newcastle, that they will probably have made a handle of it to inflame the mind of their master, the King thinks it expedient for his service, as well in respect to this affair as to many others, that you should repair forthwith to Breslaw, where you will lay the whole of that business before the King of Prussia: communicating to him the letters sent you by the last post, as containing the King's original orders to Sir Joseph Yorke, which gave birth to it, and which you may assure him are the very orders that were given, and not a part only or abstract of them: and you will give His Prussian Majesty to understand, that, so far from disavowing such a step, the King is so fully persuaded of its inoffensiveness, and of his right to take such a step, that His Majesty has no desire to conceal what passed in that transaction, either from him or any body else. Though you must take care that the communication which you make of it to His Prussian Majesty may appear in its true light, viz. that of a particular attention to His Prussian Majesty, and totally different from an excuse, which the King will by no means believe can be expected from him on such an occasion.

Neither does His Majesty comprehend what title the Prussian ministers had to complain of any application which he may have thought fit to make to the Empress Queen, of a nature like this now in question, entirely foreign to any of the King of Prussia's concerns. The conduct therefore of those ministers upon the present occasion is justly displeasing to His Majesty, and it is his pleasure that you should express to the King of Prussia his desire, that they may be instructed to proceed with a greater degree of caution for the future. You will execute these instructions in your audience of His Prussian Majesty in their fullest sense, and without any softening, since in the manner wherein the affair has been treated here by the gentlemen above mentioned, the King's honour is concerned.

Lord Bute to Mr. Mitchell.

St. James's, 9th April, 1762.

Sir,

The reserved and unfriendly manner in which the King has been treated by His Prussian Majesty, in respect to Mr. Goltz's mission to Petersburg, cannot but be very sensibly felt by His Majesty. It was determined at first without previous communication, we were told, that he went with compliments, or at most with general instructions for a reconciliation between the two courts; and when it was owned that he had full powers, still he was to open every thing to Mr. Keith, and to take no step but in concert with him. It now comes out, by Mr. Keith's letters of the 11th past, that Mr. Goltz has been negotiating, upon affairs of the highest consequence, with the Emperor, and that, without the least degree of participation with His Majesty. No less a point than that of giving His Prussian Majesty as guaranty for Sleswick, in exchange for that of Silesia, was in agitation; and, by Mr. Keith's account, we may expect to hear that a treaty has been concluded upon that foot, some weeks since; a treaty wherein the King of Prussia must know, that it would be impossible for His Majesty to take any part, consistently with the engagements of his crown to that of Denmark.

There is therefore no longer cause for surprise, though there is certainly a great one for complaint, with respect to the dead silence of your court, and their concealment from His Majesty's knowledge of such measures, as, instead of promoting his pacific views, according to the general assurances given of the King of Prussia's intentions, have the

greatest tendency to spread the flames of war, and increase the miseries of mankind.

With the consciousness, however, of this unjustifiable treatment of the King, our master, His Prussian Majesty has still continued to direct his Ministers here, if I may judge from their constant representation, to press the payment of his former subsidy: but the condition upon which the King has declared, both by my letter to them, and by His Majesty's to that Prince, that he was ready to give it, was the employment of it towards the procurement of peace, and not towards the continuation of war; and I cannot conceal from you, that to see the bounty of this nation converted to so pernicious a use as that of fomenting new troubles in Europe, would be of all things the most disagreeable to his Majesty.

The King must therefore receive farther intelligence, and see more clearly what use is intended to be made of any subsidy which he might be induced to give, before he can determine to give any at all. And this pause on resolving upon that important question, is so much the more necessary, as, in case His Prussian Majesty's treaty with Russia be actually concluded, and the weight of that empire taken consequently out of the opposite scale, he will then, if he continues in the same mind in which he was when you wrote your letters to Lord Holderness, of the months of June and July 1756, have so little occasion for any assistance from England, that he might even be ready to furnish a body of troops for His Majesty's defence. This was the King of Prussia's language to you, upon the supposition of our barely preventing his being attacked by Russia. With how much more reason then, may the English subsidy be dispensed with, if he shall have obtained not only the neutrality of the Russian Emperor, but even his guaranty for the duchy of Silesia? You are commanded, therefore, by His Majesty, to represent the purport and substance of what is above to the King of Prussia, but in the way of a cool and dispassionate remonstrance, and with very particular caution in what relates to his guaranty of Sleswick; not to put it in his power to hurt His Majesty's interest at the court of Russia, by representing there, that his engagement, if he has contracted one with the Emperor for assisting him in his designs upon Denmark, is like to cost him his subsidy from England; or if he has not, by charging his refusal to do it, upon the King's withholding that succour. You will let me know very particularly all that passes upon this execution of your orders.

In regard to your notion expressed in your last, both to Count Finckenstein and me, of the King's soliciting His Prussian Majesty's assistance in dissuading the Czar, by their joint good offices, from proceeding to hostilities against Denmark, you will see by the enclosed copy of what I am writing to Mr. Keith, that His Majesty would willingly concur in such dissuasion, but he sees no hopes of any weight being added to them from the representations of a power, who, supposing the guaranty of Silesia to have been purchased by him, at the expence of a reciprocal one for Sleswick, will have taken a step so well calculated to destroy the whole effect of every pacific remonstrance.

I am, &c.

Bute.

Transactions with the Court of Vienna, (enclosed in Lord Bute's dispatch) of the 9th of April 1762.

Precis des instructions données par la depeche de S. E. le Comte de Bute à M. le Chevalier Yorke, du 12 Janvier 1762.

A cette occasion (viz. de la publication du pacte de famille entre le France et l'Espagne, et du danger qui menace le royaume de Portugal) le Roi seroit bien aise que votre excellence pût trouver quelque canal convenable pour sonder les sentimens de la cour de Vienne, afin que Sa Majesté sache s'il y a lieu d'esperer de voir revivre dans l'esprit de l'imperatrice les craintes bien fondées qu'ont conçu tous ses augustes predecesseurs de la puissance enorme et dangereuse de la maison de Bourbon : et si elle ne s'alarmeroit pas à la vue de l'invasion dont le Portugal est menacé aussi bien que des dangers qui sont justement à apprehender pour ses propres etats en Italie : ou bien si elle ne seroit pas capable de se laisser flatter de l'esperance de quelque acquisition ultérieure dans ce quartier en cas qu'elle resolut à se joindre aux puissances, qui pourroient vouloir opposer les projets pernicioeux de la France et de l'Espagne.

Precis de la reponse de M. l'Ambassadeur Yorke à la lettre du Comte de Bute, du 12 Janvier.—Datée à la Haye, 19th Janvier 1762.

Par le canal dont je me suis servi, selon les ordres de v. E. du 12 de ce mois pour sonder les sentimens de Sa Majesté l'imperatrice reine par rapport à l'Union formidable

de la maison de Bourbon, j'espere d'apprendre quelque chose: et il est à presumer qu'au cas que cette princesse trouve à redire au pacte de famille elle ne s'en cachera pas long tems. On en verra des indices et il ne sera pas difficile en ce cas de trouver moyen d'être mis au fait plus particulièrement de ses intentions. Et comme la guerre ou elle se trouve engagée avec le Roi de Prusse fait le premier et principal objet de son attention, rein ne conduiroit plus surement à la connoissance que l'on souhaite de se procurer des sentimens réels de cette cour qui si on étoit en état de lui faire quelque ouverture de la part de Sa Majesté Prussienne.

Extrait traduit d'une apostille à la lettre du Comte de Kaunitz au Baron de Reischach.—Datée de Vienne le 3 Mars, 1762.

Si l'on veut considerer attentivement le contenu des memoires qui ont été remis, de part et d'autre, à la cour d'Angleterre, dans l'année 1755, et sur tout si l'on veut relire avec attention le plan que M. le Comte Charles de Colloredo, a communiqué au ministre, il en resultera qu'on conviendra que nous avons déjà commencé dans ce tems là à prévoir à connoître notre propre danger; mais la conduite de l'Angleterre nous a, dans le suite, entierement ouvert les yeux; et il n'y a rien de plus naturel, que chaque puissance prenne d'avance les mesures pour sa propre conservation. Dans ces circonstances je dois vous avouer, que Sa Majesté Imperiale et son ministre, ne peuvent point comprendre ce que l'ouverture confidentielle des Anglois signifie proprement, et par consequent il est aisé à comprendre qu'on ne se trouve pas ici en état de pouvoir y faire une reponse.

Lord Bute to Mr. Mitchell.

St. James's, May 26th, 1762.

Sir,

As this is the last dispatch that it will fall to my share to write to you, in quality of secretary of state, I think it necessary, and especially as the Parliament is upon the point of breaking up without any grant of subsidy, as in the former years, to the King of Prussia, to enable you to justify the King's conduct from any misapprehensions or mirepresentations of what has passed in that affair, and to set forth His Majesty's true motives for withholding that succour in the present circumstances; that so the

natural consequences of public events, and the effects of pure necessity may be no more imputed, as they have been very maliciously, to such a change of dispositions, or such a failure of friendship, as have in truth never existed; since the King never had, nor has now, the least thought of abandoning His Prussian Majesty to his enemies, or deserting his alliance.

In order to your being prepared to execute this instruction in a manner conformable to the King's intention, I must desire you to recollect with me the several stages of the negotiation concerning the subsidy, and what passed in the different periods of it.

Upon the conclusion of the last campaign, which ended so greatly to the King of Prussia's disadvantage, by his loss of the two important fortresses of Schweidnitz and Colberg, the King saw the distress of his ally with the utmost grief and commiseration; and upon the pressing application of the Prussian ministers here, his Majesty, notwithstanding the great load of expences, from the continuation of military operations in so many parts of the globe, as well by sea as land, for which the Parliament could with difficulty make provision, yet did not hesitate a minute in determining to give the former succour to the King of Prussia. The term in which that business had been before transacted, the treaty being then expired, was indeed objected to, but the substance was not disputed.

The negotiation for settling the mode of that business was carried on through the months of November and December. In the beginning of the present year our war with Spain broke out, and the necessity of our undertaking the defence of Portugal against the ambitious views of that crown was foreseen. The additional weight of such vast charges upon the most exhausted resources of this country could not but alarm the warmest advocates for the continuance of war, and the indisputable expedience of lessening the objects of them was universally felt and acknowledged. In that circumstance you were directed to recommend, in the King's name, to His Prussian Majesty to endeavour to set on foot some negotiation of peace with the court of Vienna: he was desirous to intrust His Majesty with the terms upon which he would be willing to treat, and assured of the King's desire to assist in bringing any such salutary design to perfection. You were likewise ordered to ask a communication of the means on which he would rely, after so many misfortunes, and such a diminu-

tion of his power, for carrying on the war, if that were his intention.

After some weeks waiting for an *éclaircissement* upon either of those heads, in the beginning of February the King did indeed complain of so unexpected a silence; but you were still told that His Majesty was thinking of the proper time for making the demand of the subsidy in Parliament.

In this interval we had the great news of the decease of the late Czarina, and a most promising prospect, from our very first accounts of that happy change of measures, which has so greatly bettered the King of Prussia's situation.

His Majesty saw that amendment with the truest satisfaction. He rejoiced in it as a sincere friend to that Prince, and as a well-wisher to the public interests of mankind; for he considered the defection of Russia from the contrary alliance, as what must give His Prussian Majesty a great advantage towards obtaining a speedy peace; and though His Majesty could not, consistently with the interests of his people, whose burthens were increasing in proportion as those of his ally were lessened, think then of contributing by any act of his to the prolongation of war; yet he still declared, and has continued, till near the present times, declaring, that if he might have assurance that the subsidy should be employed towards the procurement of peace, His Majesty would be still ready to ask it immediately of the Parliament.

This was the language, as well of my letter of the 26th of February, to Messieurs Knyphausen and Mitchell, as of one which His Majesty was pleased himself to write a month after that to the King of Prussia.

It was not till the 9th of last month that, after a long and fruitless waiting for such an overture from Breslaw, as might have justified to His Majesty's own paternal sentiments, and to the public, the laying again, in so different circumstances, so heavy a charge upon his people, that you were directed to hold a language to the King of Prussia, which might prepare him for a total cessation of the former pecuniary succour. It was not till after the actual conclusion of his armistice with Russia, and when an agreement of the like kind with Sweden was in view. It was when the former of those powers seemed on the point of concluding a definitive treaty (at least) with His Prussian Majesty, and the latter, from her absolute inability to continue the war, and the universal cry of her people for peace, was pre-

paring to make the first step towards him : in a word, it was subsequent to our receiving here that important declaration of the 23d of February, by the new Emperor, wherein he openly exhorts the King of Prussia's enemies to put a speedy end to the war, and declares his own resolution of restoring to that Prince all the important conquests of his predecessor.

With these facts and dates in your memory, you may venture to appeal not only, as you were directed by my last cited dispatch, to that Prince's former eventual declarations, but even to his own present judgment, and that of his ministers, whether the King could have still reasonably been expected to persevere in his intention of giving the former subsidy. We have a very powerful additional enemy to contend with; His Prussian Majesty has a new and very powerful friend: the weight of Spain is thrown into our opposite scale; that of Russia, and Sweden too, is taken out of his: the King of Prussia has Pomerania and Brandenburg to defend, besides Saxony and Silesia; the two former are no longer in danger: we had, on our part, a most expensive land war to support in Germany; we must now provide for another in Portugal.

It seems hardly imaginable that this striking comparison should not be sufficient to convince even the Court of Breslaw, that in such circumstances, without a certainty of its application towards lessening the objects of war, it was impossible to propose the subsidy to Parliament with any hopes of success.

Having thus stated to you, in its true and genuine colours, the whole of the King's proceeding in relation to the Prussian subsidy, with the real motives of it in every step, I come now to say something upon another affair, which concerns myself more particularly, and in which His Majesty is very graciously pleased to permit me to make my own disculpation a part of this dispatch, written by his order, and with his approbation.

I need not tell you, for you are fully apprized of it, that I have been charged with having held to prince Galitzin, some little time before his departure, a most unfriendly discourse with regard to the King of Prussia, and with having in particular endeavoured to persuade the Emperor of Russia, through the channel of that minister, in the first place, not to withdraw his troops from the Prussian territories, but to keep them still there, in order to force that Prince to make cessions to the Queen of Hungary; and secondly, to prefer an alliance with the house of Aus-

tria, to that of His Prussian Majesty. These are the chief points of accusation, to which are added some embellishments of less consequence; and in answer to them, what I have to observe to you is, that I see no resemblance in that account to my real conversation with Prince Galitzin. If he did really therefore make such a report to the Emperor, he must either grossly have mistaken my meaning, or failed in his memory, or (what I am sorry to suppose possible with respect to a gentleman so deservedly esteemed) may have been prompted by his known attachment to the court of Vienna, to give such a turn to his relation of my discourse, as he might think most likely to serve that interest.

By a particular coldness shewn by the Czar to Mr. Keith, and by hints which dropped from His Imperial Majesty, there was reason to think that something written to him by Prince Galitzin, with regard to the King's dispositions towards the King of Prussia, had given him offence.

He without doubt communicated that intelligence to His Prussian Majesty, who had been before disposed, by those malevolent and mischievous insinuations, which we have by a multitude of combined circumstances but too much reason to suppose he receives from his ministers here, to give an entire belief to it, with the same credulity with which he listened to that groundless and shameful falsehood, transmitted to him from hence, of His Majesty's having offered to treat with the court of Vienna at his expence.

But, however that be, the fact is, that I held no such discourse. I do perfectly recollect the interview which I had with Prince Galitzin before he left us, and I remember as perfectly that I had then lying by me my first dispatch, after the late Empress's death, to Mr. Keith, and that I talked to him from the contents, and entirely in the language of it: and I must add that, in using that style, I spoke not my own notions only, but those of His Majesty, and of all his servants, who had seen and concurred in the instructions then sent to Mr. Keith.

I communicated to you at that time what appeared necessary for your information of the contents of that dispatch; but as it is now become of more importance, I have His Majesty's leave to send you *in extenso* every word in it that related to the general affairs of Europe, or to the King of Prussia in particular.

You will see that instead of advising the Czar to continue his armies upon the Prince's territories, the King's

particular pleasure and satisfaction is expressed in the orders given to those troops to advance no further upon them; to abstain from all hostilities, and even to accept an armistice, if offered: you will see too, that so far from desiring that the court of Russia should prefer the Austrian alliance to the King of Prussia's, Mr. Keith was directed to execute the instructions sent to him by the King of Prussia himself, which were certainly not in favour of the Queen of Hungary.

It is true, that the preference is very strongly given to pacific measures in that dispatch, and Mr. Keith is restrained from concurring in any thing that might tend to protract the war: but this was no secret instruction, for you were directed to make the same declaration, and to shape your own conduct by the same rule.

You see then, besides my own assertion to the contrary, how totally improbable it is that I should hold a language to the Russian minister, I do not say so different, but so absolutely contradictory to the orders which I had just sent from His Majesty, to his own minister at that court, and that, with those very orders in my hand, I should declare or even insinuate to Prince Galitzin, that His Majesty's real sentiments were just the reverse of them.

Upon this foot, therefore, I shall leave it to you to clear me from such an unworthy imputation, having only just to add to this letter, that, as one which His Majesty has received from the King of Prussia seems to adopt the same ill-founded charge, and does not yet express a full satisfaction in the declarations made by His Majesty, with respect to the idle story of our negotiation with the Empress Queen, the King would have you insinuate civilly to Count Finkenstein, that His Majesty had not thought it suitable either to his own, or His Prussian Majesty's dignity, to enter into such altercations, but had chosen to enable you his minister to explain, and set in their true light those facts, which have either erroneously or maliciously been misrepresented to the King of Prussia.

I am, &c.

Bute.

APPENDIX III.

CORRESPONDENCE RESPECTING IRELAND.

Lord Bowes, Chancellor of Ireland, to Mr. Dodington.

25th December 1760.

* * * The orders to dissolve the late parliament, and to send over the bills as usual, to certify to His Majesty the considerations for calling a new one, were in consequence of applications from the Lords Justices here, that the affair must be speedily over, and that within the year of the present sheriffs. — The resolutions were just and prudent.

Had the difficulties relating to the sending over the bill for a supply (pursuant to precedent) occurred, they ought to have been disclosed. Charity bids us hope it did not. In fact the subject was not mentioned, to my knowledge, till on the meeting of a council, called, as I was then informed, to consider what bills should be sent. It was mentioned to be the instant before we took our seats, requesting me to name such as might be proper. My answer was, that the notice was short and unexpected: I presumed we should see what had been done, and follow precedents. On my memory I thought a money bill was always one.

The primate, who spoke to me, and the attorney-general, who was present, seemed to acquiesce. On mentioning it to the chancellor of the exchequer, he objected against sending a bill for a supply, as there would be time after a meeting of parliament to prepare one in form, and that it was not necessary before, as the duties would not expire till the 25th of December 1761; adding, that such a bill would be rejected, and produce warmth, which was to be avoided in a new parliament, and possibly end in a dissolution, the rather as they resolved in the year 1727, the day they passed a like bill, on the meeting of that parliament, "That no money bill should be read before the report from the proper committees of accounts, and that this should be the standing order."

These reasons, to which I have given their full strength, were reported instantly at the board, urged pathetically, and in my judgment improperly, at that time and place.

Departing from the settled usage in affairs of government required temper to judge of the necessity and previous private deliberation with those in the King's service, to settle the manner in which such a necessary change can be effected.

This was not done, and the effects to be expected happened:—hasty resolutions, and declarations of what they would or would not do, and that equally at the upper and lower end of the table. My intimations of what has since been the case were to little purpose, and spoke strongly to my understanding, that each man saw this would be a popular point, and strove which should appear strongest in support of it. The next step was to guard against resentment on your side the water. They were warned, and therefore the justices wrote the next day to the lord lieutenant apprizing him of their sentiments, the improbability of changing them, the consequences of attempting the sending such bill, and, I think, sufficiently to be understood, that they could not do it; proposing the expedient of other bills, which if received, the affair would end—at least it gave time to deliberate. To which I (an eye witness to the ferment) concurred, expressing my sense to comply, if the expedient should not be accepted.

You know the event on your side—on ours, no answer to the sent letter increased heats—more determined deliberations.—Debate blowed the coals.—They were told, without effect, that the sending bills to His Majesty, to be by him returned to his parliament, to notify from him the causes of their meeting, and the business they were to proceed upon, was peculiar to Ireland, depended on positive laws enacted by parliament during the reign of Henry VII. under which they could not enter upon other acts than those transmitted by the King—that, subsisting that law, supplies must be sent to them as other acts. That the statute of Philip and Mary confirms the former, at the time when it enlarges the power of government here to transmit to His Majesty other causes which might arise during the session of parliament; but the former remained in full force as to such causes and considerations as were known before the meeting of parliament. That in fact a supply was understood to be the primary cause of calling parliament:—that the establishment in Ireland made it necessary to ask a supply from the next parliament, as it would certainly be wanted. The time of asking the quantum and the continuance were in the discretion of the crown;—that this notification equally left to the House of

Commons their affirmation or negation ; — that ancient laws were to be expounded by usage ; — that this appears to have been ever the usage from the journals of parliament, and the records of the council, especially since the contest in 1692, without a single exception — that contests with the crown were to be avoided — that the nature of the subject made it less justifiable in point of prudence, as no one attempted to urge any real prejudice that might attend the following of precedents ; whilst on the other it obstructed the calling of parliament. How long that might subsist could not be known. That at that board they were to consider what was their duty, and to represent and advise of inconveniences which were expected from doing what had been done, and seemed required by law. Prudential reasons were also urged in vain — time taken for consideration. — Possibly the event may be, that no such cause will be transmitted as yet : that if required towards the necessary meeting of Parliament, it may be complied with ; but what will be the fate of such bill sent back, or the consequences of an unanimous rejection, is out of my ken.

This country is populous and wealthy. They have been taught to think themselves injured by their present constitution, forgetting Poyning's law was their own request, and that if their form of government, whilst in their present relation to England, be different from that of England, the worst which can befall them is to force England to determine what power the parliament of England shall have over Ireland.

As to others who want not this information, their business is, and will be, to secure such parliamentary interest as may render them necessary to every chief governor. He may parade, but must submit. This is the present state of things, which occasions questions to be taken up here for the sake of popularity, that as governors they should discountenance.

This will account for the great precaution that one should not get the start of the others, and keeping together empowers them to say, "change hands as oft as you please, you can only be furnished from this shop."

Lord Bowes to Mr. Dodington.

2d February 1761.

I don't wonder my last seemed obscure ; public disturbances are with difficulty explained. Those we are engaged in become important rather from the situation of government than the consequence of the matter.

To view them in a true light, it is necessary to look back to the Revolution, or rather to the Hanover succession, since which time Ireland has been the most flourishing state in Europe, as is evident from the rise of lands, and the great increase of personal property; and probably their representatives in this parliament have been possessed of more property than yours in Great Britain, in proportion to numbers, without taking in the disproportion of wealth in the two kingdoms; whence you will conclude that power, or attempts to acquire it, have accompanied opulence. — They have not had any real grievance from government, and have therefore quarrelled with its present legal constitution. They have considered your House as the model, and in general think themselves injured in the instances wherein theirs, upon the legal constitution, must differ.

In fact they are become the terror of governors sent from England, who, for present quiet, and uncertainty of support from your ministry, have rather chosen to gratify by compliance, than contest points, which, when acquiesced in, became a foundation for future superstructures. This gave rise to *undertakers*, who insured quiet to the governor in exchange for power, and are now in that state of strength to tell the lord lieutenant he must come into their measures, or be rendered too uneasy for men of rank to remain under.

You need not be told by me where that power now resides, nor how necessary popularity is to the keeping of it, especially on the election of a new parliament.

But I must observe, that formerly Protestant or Papist were the key words; they are now court or country; referring still to constitutional grievances, for of others they don't pretend to complain.

The chancellor of the exchequer (when in opposition) was the popular man, and (with his abilities) of great consequence. His acceptance of his employment, with an added salary, had totally deprived him of popularity, nor could it be retrieved by his being of no use on the other side. The parliament here being dissolved, the law required the council here to certify (in form of bills) the considerations for calling a new parliament. — Usage had always sent a bill for a supply, commonly called a money bill, as one. The commons had received these bills with reluctance. The applications to council to send over bills as usual, gave the chancellor of the exchequer opportunity to object against sending any money bill, which he enforced by such reasons as were the popular arguments against it.

Prevailing in this point at that board must have merit, as the Commons had not been able to succeed, and their attempt in 1692, ended in their dissolution. The intent was evident, as also that what one gained thereby, must be lost to others, which probably occasioned that unprecedented warmth which followed.

Neither could trust the other with this advantage, and therefore joined instantly, and in such manner as to become principals at once; resolving and declaring they were ready to suffer political martyrdom in support of it, and this before the council had given or been asked their opinions on the subject, though, in fact, the majority soon espoused the same sentiments. To this united strength may be ascribed the letters to the lieutenant, in terms unusual, to say no more; and hence the difficulties arise as to the prudential part on your side the water, and are, in truth, of great moment with respect to the future government of this kingdom.

There is a bill sent from hence in seeming compliance with these resolutions on your side, to which some names are wanting, because they did not consider the bill sent agreeable to former usage, or the intent of it. Not being a bill for a supply to His Majesty, that it was open to every objection made against sending the usual bill, with many others arising from the nature of the bill sent; as it related to a vote of credit, for which the honour of the Commons was engaged; not desired by those who had lent their money, and could only be necessary on the supposed defective security of that vote — that it appropriated duties in the first instance, and deprived the Commons of considering the amount of the debt to be provided for, or the duties for re-payment, &c. &c. &c. That these added objections would probably create contests in another place, and the measure was therefore unsafe as well as unusual, and seemed calculated only to ascertain in the event that which they had said would happen in sending a money bill.

It is observable, and I believe true, that the opposition here is universally disapproved of, and the actors see their error, though not the way to get rid of the affair. If this last attempt succeeds, they will rejoice as on a victory — if not, their having departed from their first declaration, their doing what they ought to have done, seems to be a necessary consequence, if those on your side insist upon it.

Lord Bowes to Mr. Dodington.

26th March 1761.

Lord Halifax comes here at a critical time, and his conduct will probably fix the future government of Ireland.

16th Oct. 1761.

* * * To me Lord Halifax seems to have got the start of opposition, and they will have no easy task to persuade the people that he is not their friend. The return of the money bill is likely to occasion differences: but the train in which things are placed is likely to make it easy; — it was sent in wrath, knowing it must be rejected on its return. Your lordship well knows what uphill work it must be to carry such a question against the inclinations, and in fact against utility and conveniency; what is therefore wished is, that it may be received and read, and then postponed till a new bill may be framed, which will take in the subject of that act, and which may be necessary to answer the end proposed by way of supply and duration, and then drop the first, upon the reason of the thing, without entering on any further questions. Questions may, and probably will be proposed, but I think rejected by a respectable majority.

The bill for septennial parliaments will be introduced, and like your place bill be carried in, though strongly against the inclinations of many who will be silent. In what light that may be considered elsewhere, you may know before I can. The question is, or rather may be of importance to the Crown, but infinitely more to the quiet, &c. &c. of the kingdom.

Lord Halifax to Lord Melcombe.

15th December 1761.

I am obliged to you for the favourable opinion you express of my government here, and I am sorry for the picture you draw elsewhere. If I am quiet, it is not that I am without a tribe equal in *virtues* to that you describe at home, but I came determined to make the proper use of them, and I luckily had an early opportunity of doing so. It was always considered good generalship to turn an enemy's cannon against themselves, and I took their battery as soon as unmasked. I will not say what other lord lieutenants have been, but I am as much master here as I can wish to be, and as much as my good royal master could ever have expected me to be. His authority, coute qu'il coute, shall never suffer in my hands. The session is like to continue good humoured, and to be short, as the edge of opposition is blunted.

APPENDIX IV.

ON THE ISLE OF MAN.

The early history of the Isle of Man is involved in considerable obscurity; on the expulsion of the Norwegians, the ancient records of the island were carried to Drontheim in Norway, and on inquiry within these thirty years, it has been discovered that they were accidentally destroyed by fire. However, it seems from the report of Calvin's case, that this island was an ancient and absolute kingdom.^a

The tradition of the island points out the first trace of monarchy in the latest stages of druidical hierarchy, when Christianity was introduced, and bishops were placed there by St. Patrick, not only *ad erudiendum*, but, *ad regendum populum istius Insulæ*.^b

The island was under an independent sovereign; by Edward II. it was granted to his favourite, Gaveston, Earl of Cornwall^c, and was afterwards conquered and held by Alexander III. of Scotland, and governed by his thanes. By the assistance of Edward III. it again returned to the English line, and became the property of Sir William Montacute, who, in 1393, sold it to William le Scrope, on whose forfeiture it fell to Henry IV.^d

This monarch, in the first year of his reign, granted the isle to Henry Earl of Northumberland, who being attainted for treason^e, it was granted to Sir John Stanley and his heirs^f, *Tenendam de Rege hæredibus et successoribus suis per homagium ligeum reddendo nobis duos falcones, &c. &c.* from whom, by a lineal succession, this noble inheritance descended to Ferdinand, fifth Earl of Derby.

In the year following his succession, this nobleman died, leaving three daughters co-heiresses, and his brother William, sixth Earl of Derby, his heir male.

On the death of Earl Ferdinand, a controversy arose between his three daughters and widow, on the one part, and the said Earl William on the other. A reference in consequence was made by Queen Elizabeth to some of her privy council and judges.^g

^a Coke's Rep. 7.
Eng. vol. iii. 331.

^b Jocelin, Vit. Patric. 6. 152.
^d 4th Inst. 283.

^c Rap. Hist.
^f 6th Henry IV.

^e Rap. Hist.
^f 4th Inst. 284.

^g Anderson's Reports, vol. ii. p. 215. Dugdale's Baronage, 250.

This dispute continued several years, and in the mean time the crown appears to have had possession of the island. At length an agreement was made, various sums of money paid to Earl Ferdinand's daughters and his widow, and the succession of the island regulated by an act of parliament in the 7th of James I.

By this act it was settled, after certain limitations, on the right heirs of James, then Lord Stanley, afterwards Earl of Derby, with a clause prohibitory of alienation.

The island descended to James, tenth Earl of Derby, on whose decease, the male line of heirs of James Lord Stanley becoming extinct, recourse was had to Amelia Sophia, the youngest surviving daughter of James, seventh Earl of Derby, who was married to John, Marquis of Atholl, and from whom, by lineal succession, the island has devolved on the present Duchess Dowager of Atholl, Baroness Strange, under the parliamentary entail of the 7th of James I.

It being conceived that the British and Irish revenues were materially affected by illicit practices carried on to and from the Isle of Man, acts of parliament passed from time to time, regulating the trade of Great Britain in respect to the Isle of Man; which, in the year 1765, being considered insufficient to carry their purposes into effect, after much negotiation and correspondence with the Atholl family, which was at length dropped, the bill of 1765, for investing the island in the crown, passed.

The present Duke of Atholl, who is heir apparent, and on the decease of his mother will be heir general of James Lord Stanley, conceiving that this act of parliament has been made in direct violation of the parliamentary entail of 7th James I. and is, in a variety of respects extremely severe in its operation, from the title to and value of the island being totally misunderstood at the time the transaction took place, has, since he came of age, made several applications for redress^h, which it has been found necessary to discontinue, from new matter arising in the course of his investigations relative to this island; and his Grace having obtained from His Majesty a commission for inquiring into the nature of his complaints, and the situation of the island, and a report having been made generally in favour of his Grace's allegations, it is understood that he is preparing to apply for a full consideration of his case, in order to the attainment of redress, from the honour, justice, and equity of the imperial parliament.

^h Com. Journ. 1780—1790.

APPENDIX V.

LETTER from a Person in high Office in AMERICA,
to an English Nobleman; on the Temper of
the People, and Course of Politics.

New York, 8th November 1765.

By Davis, two days ago, I gave you a tedious (because I chose it should be a particular) account of the violence that lately broke out in this town, and which, if the madness of the lieutenant governor had not been repressed by the prudence of the commander in chief of the King's forces, would very probably have involved the whole continent in a rebellion.

I am impatient to the last degree, for the arrival of Sir Henry *Moore*; not because it will rid us of *Colden*, who, 'tis reported, thinks himself no longer safe in America, and will remove to England; but I have some hopes a governor not obnoxious to the people, may confide in the militia, and take proper measures to free us from a state of anarchy, and the dominion of a mob, who not only terrify the magistracy, but may put the match to the powder of discontent that threatens to blow up all the provinces. Let us hope there will be no recurring to force; if Britain prefers it to policy, we are both ruined. For the Americans seemed determined to fulfil Barré's prediction in the House of Commons, and fight it out.

Depend upon it they will suffer no man to execute any law to raise internal taxes unimposed by their own assemblies. None of the distributors durst act; and that man's heart must be fortified with tenfold steel, who ventures even to approve the doctrine, that the parliament hath a right to give away the estates of the colonists without their consent.

In the chartered governments, where the offices are elective, all things run on in the usual channel; and even in the colonies, where there is a more immediate dependence on the crown, the spirit of the people countenances such a defiance to all officers, that I make no doubt of an equal neglect of the *stamp act*.

The ordinary process of the law has not as yet been issued in this province; but I suppose it will soon begin without any reference to the parliamentary decree: and

indeed, if any durst to ask for them, there are none to distribute them. The merchants, I once thought, would have been the first purchasers; but they venture out their vessels with unstamped cockets, nor have the officers of the customs the hardiness to refuse them any of the necessary documents. The newspapers also are dispersed as before, and thunder out their weekly execrations against all the authors of the real or supposed grievances of the country, and the printers, sure of an immediate gaol-delivery, inflame the whole continent.

Blessed be the name of the man who finds means to dispel the dark cloud that hangs over us, and brighten this troubled sky. I am aware of the difficulties. The change of the ministry gives a ray of hope to some, who presume that the new state-physicians will naturally find fault with the prescriptions of the old doctors. But I fear that the terror of the general voice on your side of the water, will, for a time, support the doctrine *here* so utterly abhorred; nor do I see any middle way to save the honour and claims of the parliament. Regulations in trade to destroy the West India monopoly, so destructive to us and the mother-country, with the reduction of the Admiralty powers, may sweeten men's minds; but the grand contest will subsist even though the stamp duty should be *reduced*, and better proportioned to the abilities of the people.

A *total* exemption from taxes they were resolved to force; and besides the justice of their cause, they are animated by various considerations to expect success — your present confusions, which they hope to increase by our own economy and encouragement of home-made manufactures; the supplies you want from us; the difficulty, if not impossibility of sparing a standing army and supporting it; a presumption of the necessary flights over to us of your unemployed manufacturers; our other various accessions; our rapid growth, and that your own army may be wasted by desertions. The project that the standing force adequate to the design (not of a quick conquest, but) of maintaining the law against a general, wide-spreading disaffection, while it flatters our hope, will, if it falls from its fidelity, endanger an American independency, and provoke your natural enemies in Europe to lift up a successful arm against you: all inspire a confidence that Britain will be too wise after all, to venture upon a measure that will quicken her own downfall.

By these views our people are emboldened — add to this, they are all united — every man inspires his neighbour,

and colonies echo to colonies, we are Englishmen, and will be free.

At the late congress in this place, they came unanimously to a set of *resolves*, of which the several deputies took copies, that their representations and conduct may have a perfect harmony.

As I do not approve of the violences of my countrymen, so neither could I agree with their wise men, either in the principles they go upon, or the manner of giving success to their claims.

The congress was appointed for the first of October; opened a few days afterwards, and closed on the 25th of the same month. — The members were, in general, men of warm passions — an impatience to get home, and the pride of the draftsmen, against which I forwarned several of them, had also a very ill effect on their transactions — all the conduits of information had not emptied upon them, before they began to write, nor indeed, before they broke up; and their compositions therefore carry evident marks of hurry and imperfection.

What they wrote is contained in *fourteen resolves*, a petition to the King, another to the Commons, and a memorial to the Lords. — But, why a memorial? — That I cannot say? I mentioned it to one of the members, and thought he was surprised at the observation. So it remained when they broke up.

The resolves profess allegiance to the crown, andⁱ all *due subordination* to the two houses of parliament; declare that we are entitled to all the rights of subjects born within the realm; that it is essential to the freedom of a people, to be taxed only with their own consent; that the colonies neither are, nor can, from local circumstances, be represented in the British House of Commons: that their only representatives are in their colony legislatures; and, except by them, no taxes have been, or can be, constitutionally imposed upon them. — That supplies being *gifts*, the Commons of Great Britain cannot *constitutionally* grant away our property. — The trials by jury are the rights of the subject. — That the stamp act, and other acts of trade, tend to subvert that right. That the duties lately imposed are grievances, and the payment impracticable. — That the profits of our commerce center in Great Britain; and we, therefore, contribute largely to all supplies. —

ⁱ They would not be persuaded to a full recognition of the authority of parliament.

That the present parliamentary restrictions prevent us from purchasing the manufactures of Great Britain.—That the prosperity of the colonies depends on the enjoyment of their rights, and a mutual beneficial intercourse with the mother-country. — That it is the subjects' right to petition King, Lords, and Commons, and *our* duty, by a loyal and dutiful address to the King, and humble application to both houses, to procure a repeal of the stamp act and others, restricting trade, and extending the admiralty jurisdictions. I give the substance.

You may, hence, collect the scope of the petitions, and will soon see them at full length. The acts of the congress conclude, recommending it to the colonies, to solicit their cause by special agents from each.

What say you to the American Parliament, *only to meddle with supplies*, composed of deputies from each colony; a council during good behaviour; and a lord lieutenant at pleasure. Great Britain to ride mistress of life, liberty, and commerce, and so to retain all the power she can desire (leaving us a reasonable security), a power necessary for supreme direction.

This, 'tis true, is a novelty, but more in the form than substance; and when a new adventitious state arises, why not adopt new principles? Time alters both laws and constitutions of countries — we came out from you freemen — a forfeiture we did not incur — we had the royal licence to emigrate, and there is a merit besides, in extending the trade and dominion, and increasing the number of your subjects — so your King thought; why then these little distinctions begot and fostered by the crown? This numerous partition of provinces seems now to render the machine of empire too complex — whose fault is that? But 'tis a fault. — agreed — provide then a new model correspondent to this new state — if the ancient constitution did not foresee this wide dispersion of its subjects, nor consequently make an equal and suitable provision for their government, let it be confessed on both sides that *so it is*, and a proper one be contrived, in which the millions abroad that are collecting honey for the hive at home, and those who never came out for it, may both be safe. Don't startle at a parliament in America — you have got two in Europe — have made above twenty abroad — we consent that they may be *consolidated* into one — nay! But we are jealous of you, divided as you are, and have more to fear if your power is united. Strange embarrassments — and so, that your jealousies may be gratified — we must be slaves?

—Depart from truth and right, and the wisest nations will be convicted of folly and injustice. — Let reason, undazzled by the glare of power, decide between us. If one sister asks the sole disposition of the estate of the other, can she be just? If the parliament of Great Britain admit our right of representation, and say, we *virtually* have it, though we don't send a member; what is this but playing the fool, and flying to the old constitution for a covering too narrow to conceal them from nakedness? Again, suppose some ground for your jealousies? Of two evils prefer the least. In attempting to enlave us, you may fall yourselves. That your power will, one day, walk over the Atlantic, 'tis certain — your colonies will exhaust you. A thousand motives excite your people to come hither — our condescension (to speak like an American) will retard the day of your final overthrow: permit you the pleasures of a more eastern sun, till we have set the house in order, and fitted it for the reception of your King, Lords, and Commons. This is the natural seat of your empire, and if you will fall in with the proposal, drop your pretence of a virtual representation, and be honest and kind — our parliament, uninfluenced by the contractions incident to little assemblies, will be generous, and support the government with all the trappings and splendour which the most profuse liberality can desire, and your *wise* regulations for our commerce will permit. But I am insensibly carried into an enormous length — you see how a prospect that saves us from the miseries of a civil war, pleases me. I wish your senators would take a trip to these shores. I think we have no secrets, and I am sure an American air would contribute to the clearing some of their heads. — Adieu.

APPENDIX VI.

ON THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

The state of the polite arts in England at His Majesty's accession bordered on national reproach. In the preceding reign they had sustained total neglect; but now a more than common attention to the arts began to manifest itself, not only among the professors, but among the higher ranks of society, which was stimulated by the favour shewn

to a new and popular institution, the "Society for the encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce," under whose auspices the annual public exhibitions originated.

To this standard modest merit was invited for support and protection, and ability acquired means of obtaining distinction and liberal reward. This bias in favour of the liberal arts was not unnoticed by His Majesty; and when the artists formed their plan of uniting in a body to perpetuate their public exhibitions, and assumed a permanent character by incorporation, the royal consent was graciously conceded, and their charter granted, January 26th, 1765.

From this "Incorporated Society of Artists of Great Britain," arose the Royal Academy, in consequence of a dispute between the directors and the fellows, which occasioned a separation of interests.

On the 10th of December 1768, the institution of the present Royal Academy was completed under the immediate patronage of His Majesty; and Sir Joshua Reynolds, receiving the honour of knighthood on the occasion, was appointed its first president.

This new establishment for the cultivation and promotion of painting, sculpture, and architecture, is supported by the produce of an annual exhibition, a source which of late years has proved fully sufficient; but which at its commencement was assisted by royal bounty to the amount of five thousand pounds.

We have only to turn our eyes to the numerous productions which have passed in review before the public, since these establishments for the encouragement of the elegant arts, to be convinced of the sound policy of giving all possible energy to those exertions of native genius, which in so short a time have turned the tide of public approbation, and added signal glory to the British name, by breaking through all the obstacles raised by prejudice, ignorance, or malice.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.

misc. 6+

